



# ALL THE FRESCOS OF RAPHAEL

## Part I





## RAPHAEL—FRESCOS

Raphael's frescos for the Vatican apartments were so far superior to the work of other painters that Pope Julius II had all the other works in these rooms destroyed at once in order that Raphael might have the honor of seeing his work preferred above all others.

The ideals of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty provide the connection for the many frescos; these ideals are given body by means of a "supreme harmony of forms" and a "tonality of colors". Raphael's sensitivity prevents the figures in *Justice* and the *Cardinal Virtues* from becoming mere stereotypes.

*The Dispute* astonishes by an immensity of conception reminiscent of El Greco's *Count Orgaz*. Ettore Camesasca points out how the disc of the Eucharist is repeated as a motif in ever-larger circles, until they surround the saints.

Two volumes in this series have been devoted to Raphael's paintings. The artistry and number of his surviving frescos necessitate two more volumes devoted to them. These volumes include a critical essay and reproductions of *all* the Raphael frescos.

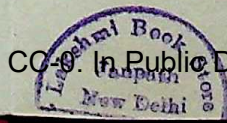
160 plates in black and white  
4 in color

JACKET ILLUSTRATION:

The Dispute of the Sacrament (*detail*)



759.94



THE  
Ra  
me  
oth  
the  
at c  
the  
abo  
T  
Beau  
many  
by m  
form  
Rapl  
in Ji  
beco  
T  
of  
Co  
hov  
as a  
sur  
7  
dev  
arti  
fres  
dev



ALL THE FRESCOS OF  
RAPHAEL

Part I

VOLUME TWELVE

*in the*

*Complete Library of World Art*



*The Complete Library of World Art*



# ALL THE FRESCOS OF RAPHAEL

Part I

*Edited by* ETTORE CAMESASCA

*Translated by* PAUL COLACICCHI

759.94  
C F

OLDBOURNE

*London*

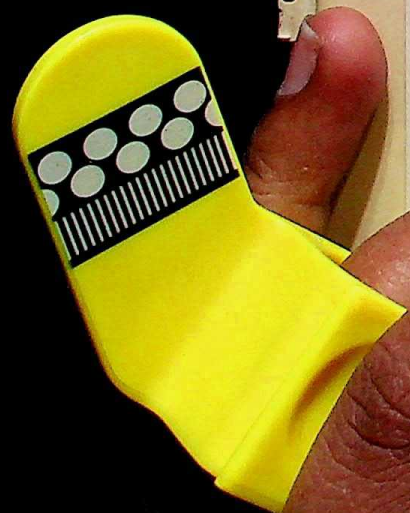
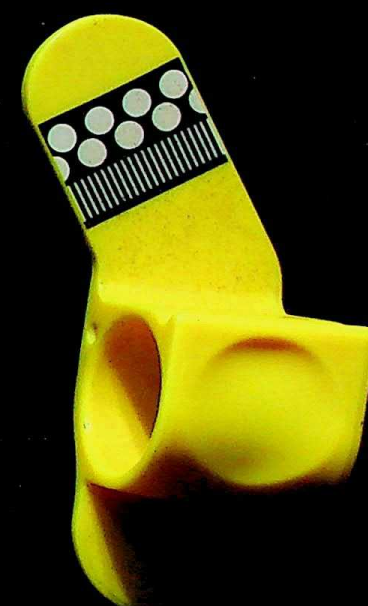


© 1963 by Rizzoli Editore, Milan  
Published in Great Britain by  
Oldbourne Press, 121 Fleet Street,  
London E.C.4

Printed in Great Britain by  
Jarrold and Sons Ltd, Norwich

## CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
RAPHAEL SANZIO, LIFE AND WORK	7
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES	29
RAPHAEL'S FRESCOS	32
LOCATION OF FRESCOS	46
REPRODUCTIONS	47





© 1963 by Rizzoli Editore, Milan  
Published in Great Britain by  
Oldbourne Press, 121 Fleet Street,  
London E.C.4

*Printed in Great Britain by  
Jarrold and Sons Ltd, Norwich*



## CONTENTS

RAPHAEL SANZIO, LIFE AND WORK	<i>page</i> 7
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES	29
RAPHAEL'S FRESCOS	32
LOCATION OF FRESCOS	46
REPRODUCTIONS	47

These volumes deal with Raphael's *Frescos* and the reader is referred to the volumes on Raphael's *Paintings*, in the same series.



## RAPHAEL SANZIO

### *Life and Work*

NOT many years after his birth, at Urbino on April 6, 1483, Raphael painted a *Madonna* (plate 1) on the wall of his father's house. This first mural indicated his artistic preferences at the very beginning of his brief career. The fresco, traditionally attributed to him, was later ascribed to his father and only recently have Ragghianti and Longhi proved the traditional attribution correct. Giovanni Santi, in fact, though a good artist within his own provincial domain, never equalled his son, Raphael, in interpreting the classical thought which had spread throughout central Italy. This was due to the progress of Tuscan culture, and the luminous and geometrical vision of Piero della Francesca who lived in the small town of Borgo San Sepolcro. The limited area on which young Raphael painted his fresco enables one, furthermore, to detect his early links with Perugino, whom he must have met shortly after his father's death in 1494. Raphael's *Madonna* has many affinities with the central part of Perugino's predella under the altarpiece consecrated at Fano in 1497.

Behind a stream of works—from the *Coronation of St Nicholas of Tolentino* (1501-2), now known by its three fragments (*Paintings*, plates 3 and 146A) to the *Mond Crucifixion* (1503; *Paintings*, plate 10), and the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Brera Gallery (1504; *Paintings*, plate 22)—the main factors were Perugino's teachings, followed by the

results of Raphael's encounter with the works of Leonardo da Vinci and other Florentine masters, together with the example set by Pinturicchio's ornate and incisive style (Pinturicchio was a partner of Perugino). These works are sound evidence of the high standards and artistic importance achieved by the young artist even before he went to live in Florence in 1504, though the influences we have mentioned would lead one to assume that he had paid brief visits to that city before that date. In Florence, Raphael was able to renew his acquaintance with the masters, and even to extend his studies in other directions.

At first, the poles of his investigation were Leonardo da Vinci and Fra' Bartolomeo della Porta; but he did not neglect lesser personalities such as Ghirlandaio, Mariotto Albertinelli and Lorenzo di Credi, and they encouraged him to study Flemish art more closely—he had seen works by Flemish painters in the collection assembled in the Palace at Urbino by the Duke of Montefeltro. Before long he also came under the spell of Michelangelo's work and then became interested in Donatello, Luca della Robbia and Masaccio. In short, his studies led him over the greater part of the prevailing Florentine culture.

The variety of Raphael's interests, however, did not create sudden changes in his outlook. Every new item of knowledge was assimilated slowly and cautiously, and perhaps analyzed afresh whenever he appeared to have understood it thoroughly. And the foundation derived from Perugino remained for a long time the solid base of all his artistic experience. This is confirmed by an examination of the many works he painted between 1504 and 1508: an impressive series of Madonnas and portraits, supplemented by biblical and pagan themes.

In the former group, the original frontal presentation,



typical of Perugino, is modified into a gradual deepening of Da Vinci's pyramidal scheme. The increasing transparency of the surrounding space contributes to multiplying the relationships between the many parts of the scenes; forms are modulated so as to make surfaces appear rounder, and landscapes intervene with ever-growing intensity in establishing the measured harmony of the whole picture. We thus come from the *Granduca Madonna* (Paintings, plate 42) to the *Madonna of the Goldfinch* (Paintings, plate 63), to the *Madonna of the Meadows* (1505-6; Paintings, plate 67), and to *La Belle Jardinière* (1507; Paintings, plate 86).

At the same time, obviously inspired by Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo*, Raphael tried to bring new solutions to the dynamics of bodily torsions. This may be seen in the *Canigiani Holy Family* (Paintings, plate 79) and other similar themes. This reached a climax in the monolithic sinuosity of London's *St Catherine of Alexandria* (Paintings, plate 89), a marvellous orchestration of powerful movement coherently harmonized.

The extent of Raphael's style is equally prodigious in its interpretation of the most complex stories, the episodic significance of which is transcended into moments of form and light. Note how the young master developed in the course of two or three years from the London *Vision of a Knight* (Paintings, plate 44) and the other marvellous small pictures chronologically associated with it—the Chantilly *Three Graces*, *St Michael* and *St George* in the Louvre (Paintings, plates 45, 46, 47 and 48)—which betray a somewhat astonished innocence even though they clearly belong to the Cinquecento by their schemes and the airy quality of their colors. Compare these works with the mature breadth of the Borghese *Deposition*, dated 1507 (Paintings, plates 72-73). We find that a disciplined pattern of closely knit balances

transforms, by its geometrical severity, the drama of the episode described into a serene and charming lyricism. Elsewhere in Raphael's portraits, the influence of Leonardo da Vinci, particularly, added precious qualities to Raphael's art, nourished as it was by his contacts with Perugino.

These qualities led the young artist, through his portraits of a *Man* and a *Young Woman*, both in the Borghese Gallery (*Paintings*, plates 20 and 61), *Angelo Doni*, *Maddalena Doni* and *La Gravida*, all in the Pitti Palace (*Paintings*, plates 68, 70 and 71), to the final synthesis of *La Muta* at Urbino (*Paintings*, plate 93) painted toward the end of his stay in Tuscany. This work reveals such depth and fullness of style so that, although every physical detail is rendered with relentless precision, the whole is enveloped in an atmosphere which is not of this world.

We have already mentioned the influence of Fra' Bartolomeo. Thanks to him, Raphael acquired a wider concept of space and a richer intensity of color, so much so that he was suspected of having had contact with Venetian culture. The crisis brought about in his style by the friar's work, to be seen in the *Canigiani Holy Family*, reached its height in the *Madonna of the Canopy* (*Paintings*, plate 91). Bartolomeo's work had also caused appreciable changes in the *Colonna Altarpiece*, now in New York (*Paintings*, plate 37), and in the *Ansidei Altarpiece* in London (*Paintings*, plate 49), both begun in Perugia about 1503 and completed between 1505 and 1506 during Raphael's many journeys to Umbria while he lived in Florence.

In Perugia, where he perhaps shared a workshop with Berto di Giovanni and Domenico Alfani, Raphael began decorating, in 1505, a wall in the little Church of San Severo, painting a *Trinity and Saints* in the arch set in the wall (plate 2). In 1521, Perugino completed the fresco by



adding the six saints to the lower section. This work, severely damaged by time and badly restored, cannot be thoroughly analyzed, yet one can still perceive in it a pleasing, measured breadth of vision and the symmetry of the whole, both in the assembly of blessed monks and in the display of angels in flight. This is sufficient evidence to show that the artist had now fully mastered his means of expression. The San Severo fresco, left unfinished in 1507, was followed in 1508 by the *Madonna of the Canopy* which was also left unfinished, together with other works vaguely noted by Vasari. Perhaps the restlessness which led Raphael to undertake paintings which he could not finish is explained by the fact that he was now yearning for a field which would enable him to express himself more fully. A short time later, in fact, the master showed what sublime deductions he could draw from the scheme of the Perugia *Trinity*, when he decorated the Vatican walls.

Vasari notes that Raphael's departure for Rome was sudden. The details known now do not confirm this, nor is it established that the move from Florence was ordered by Pope Julius II on Bramante's advice. Neither do we know the exact date of that journey, though it is usually thought to have taken place between the summer and autumn of 1508. Raphael seems to have sent two letters, one from Florence on April 21 to his uncle, Ciarla, and another from Rome on September 5 to Francia. That he sent the second letter is not proved. We do know, however, that the Pontiff, having decided not to live in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican, decorated by Pinturicchio for the infamous Alexander VI, had entrusted the decoration of other chambers to a number of masters, including Sodoma and Bramantino. Raphael, who probably began working on those rooms in 1509, was left to direct the whole enterprise shortly after.

His first task in the Vatican was decorating the vault of a chamber, later named the *Stanza della Segnatura*, that his predecessors had divided into small sections linked by ornamental scenes. Raphael added four *tondi* (plates 6 and 7) to these decorations and, presumably with the help of Sodoma rather than Peruzzi, painted the nearby rectangular scenes (plates 4 and 5). From these sections stem the entire theoretical conception of the whole cycle which glorifies the three basic "ideas" of the human spirit as proposed by the Neo-Platonists: Truth, achieved thanks to the concurrence both of Christian faith (represented, in the *tondo* and on the vault, by *Theology* and *Original Sin* and, on the lower wall, by the *Dispute of the Sacrament*) and of Science (*Philosophy*, *Astronomy* and the *School of Athens*, in that order); Goodness, achieved by judicial law (*Justice*, *Solomon in Judgment*, *Cardinal and Theological Virtues*, *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals* and *Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian*); Beauty, expressed by poetic creation (*Poetry*, *Flaying of Marsyas*, *Parnassus*). These, in brief, are the conceptual links between the compositions (see also pages 34ff.). They are rendered more solid and immediate by means of a supreme harmony of forms and a diffused gray-blue tonality of colors, which are varied in accordance with a definite plan.

The figures in the *tondi* and in the vault's sections recall Michelangelo and antique sculpture. An example of this may be seen in the figure of *Poetry* (plate 7B), strongly reminiscent of a Roman Victory. The backgrounds, painted to resemble gold mosaic, consolidate the classical appearance of the figures and enhance them, perhaps to the point of distinguished eloquence. But Raphael's sensitivity and his profound understanding of prototypes prevent these images from becoming conventional formulas or mere superficial



decorations. *Justice* (plate 6B), which might have been the first *tondo* painted by the artist, reveals a somewhat hastily achieved balance between figure and background. But with the insertion of the cherubs in *Theology* and *Philosophy* (plates 6A and 7A), the chiaroscuro texture establishes a valid link and balance. This becomes absolute in *Poetry*, which is painted with a perfect understanding of space. In the rectangles, the linking factor is light, which falls on the Herculean nudes, making them weightless and pulsating. At times, this play of light is so overdone as to reduce the force of the figures and thus leading one to suspect the intervention of Sodoma, especially in the *Flaying of Marsyas* (plate 5B).

In the eighteenth century, Jonathan Richardson established that the *Dispute* was the first fresco painted on the walls of the *Stanza della Segnatura*. He was less successful in judging its quality. It is not easy to describe the eminence of this fresco. As a comparison, we may think of the suggestion of enormous strength evoked by the sea after a storm, when that strength is restrained yet none of its impetus is lost. This is a parallel that may help us to understand the immensity of the conception expressed in the *Dispute* (plates 8 and 9). The center of convergence of all principal lines, inextricably bound to the meeting-point of all perspective lines, is the monstrance, rising from the altar to connect the terrestrial and celestial parts of the vision. The immaculate disc of the Eucharist filters upwards and is amplified first in the halo of the mystic dove, then in the sun-like radiation of light surrounding Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist. From this point, the rhythmical amplification of light is increased by the diverging groups of prophets and theologians enthroned on the clouds. Finally, it achieves immense proportions in the angelic dome, and appears to extend into

infinity, beyond the very frame of the huge lunette. The apsidal scheme of the fresco is opposed by the arched base of the celestial zone, yet it is tempered by the ideal line which, starting from the Host, connects the heads of the earthly figures. (Note how the line is suggested by the attitudes of the figures situated at the two extremes of the group, and its flexion stressed by the horizontal landscape.) This periodical and alternative movement, and the slow upward lines of the steps leading to the altar from the clear-cut geometrical pavement, lends the composition unlimited depth, pushing it backwards and inwards to an isolated world. This effect is complemented by the silvery light, executed in the manner of Piero della Francesca. Originating in the center of the scene, the light upsets the observer's expectations in that it increases the clarity of the distant figures. Gestures thus assume unexpected relief, but as they remain indispensable elements of the whole pictorial architecture, each single episode is absorbed into the general symphony.

On the opposite wall, the *School of Athens* (plates 24 and 25) celebrates the glory of classical thought by presenting an assembly of ancient philosophers, poets and men of science under the vaults of a great Basilica, perhaps, suggested or even designed by Bramante. The temple clearly recalls the interior of St Peter's and other Bramantesque creations, but the idea is here so perfectly translated into pictorial terms that the merit is entirely Raphael's. He (or for that matter, his supposed inspirer as well) could easily have had in mind the majestic proportions of the Baths of Caracalla, or those of the Basilica of Maxentius. The great classical scholars stand out in the middle zone of the picture; against the luminous background, the horizontal unrelieved line which they form, stresses the verticality of the pillars. This contrast encourages the eye to roam over the



soaring arches and perceive, in that vastness, the rhythm in the groups of the foreground, conveniently arched to match the lines of the powerful architecture.

The original idea for the groups of figures in the *School of Athens* is to be seen in a cartoon in the Ambrosiana Gallery, Milan (plates 40 and 41A). While the balance of architectural elements in the cartoon is proof of the importance of their function as a unifying factor in the fresco, the essentially chiaroscuro quality of the drawings shows that Raphael still clung to Leonardo da Vinci's style. This is not visible at all in the finished painting. True, the walls show touches of a pre-Correggio sensitivity, but Raphael's style was by now definitely projected towards a wider pictorial conception, the result of his absorbing a rich variety of styles and manners (see plate 33). The powerful image of Heraclitus, alone and immersed in thought at the foot of the staircase, is also indicative of the greater plasticity in Raphael's style. This figure, which forms the end of the arch created by the group in the left foreground, was inserted after the fresco was finished, and after the unveiling of the first half of Michelangelo's Sistine vault (September 1510). The face of Heraclitus is, in fact, not unlike Michelangelo and the figure may have been intended as a compliment to the great master and to his style.

It should be said, on the other hand, that these stylistic enrichments vitiate, as it were, the tonal consistency of the composition, especially where chiaroscuros become thicker or the plastic substance of a detail over-stressed. Raphael was facing a new crisis of taste which, at times, produced negative results. Eventually, however, he found the strength to overcome it and even to benefit from it to the fullest extent.

His capacity for recovery is shown by the speedy

transition—taking place about 1511—from the vivid and well-modulated zones of light and shade that animate Isaiah in the Church of Sant'Agostino in Rome (plate 90).

This crisis was only partly responsible for the decline in quality of the *Parnassus* (plate 42), also to be seen on the Segnatura walls; and in this fresco the classical inspiration occasionally descends to mere declamatory gestures and the plastic effect to superficial calligraphy. In addition, the unavoidable articulation of the scene around the window was miscalculated to the detriment of the composition's spatial unity. The solution to the compositional problem posed on both sides of the door below, was the somewhat hasty protrusion of the figures of Sappho and Horace, and is unconvincing, though Wölfflin justifies it as a foretaste of the illusionary qualities shortly to become fashionable among the mannerists. So also, in spite of their vivid characterization, the artificial and strained figures of the poets have no stylistic *raison d'être*. The fresco, on the other hand, acquires a certain nobility in the group of Muses: the movements of their bodies and heads as they address one another create an attractive harmony of luminous forms and this is paralleled by the wind-swept laurel trees.

The large lunette over the opposite window depicts the *Cardinal and Theological Virtues* (plate 50). They are composed with a Florentine subtlety of contrasting masses, on the same lines as the Sistine Chapel *Sibyls*, but they follow a law which reveals how fully Raphael had by now assimilated Michelangelo's art. The freely moving feminine figures, the rhythmically placed little angels, retain all the classical frontal positions which no doubt inspired their creator. But at the same time, by pushing back the central step, by the insertion of leaves and by other extremely clever special effects (apart from the light palpitating over the



whole surface of the work), Raphael avoided the static flatness of the arabesque. Each archaeological or literary element is fully translated into pictorial language.

Damage and bad restoration prevent us appreciating the fresco of *Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian* (plate 58), depicted in one of the two compartments beneath the *Virtues*. Its twin scene, *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals* (plate 59), though presented in a space bounded by the slanted papal throne and the oblique line formed by the tiles, still seems intimate by the closeness of the background and by the short vertical lines. The frontal conception, and the low, solid aspect of the architecture is matched by the grave dignity of the figures. From this harmony of lines and poses, the commemorative tone of the episode acquires a spirit of accessible humanity, the same regal exaltation, in fact, which is to be found in the *Platina before Sixtus IV* by Melozzo da Forlì in the Roman Basilica dei Santi Apostoli. Undoubtedly, Melozzo inspired Raphael in his first approach to official historiography. This first section in the Segnatura is marked by an extremely personal translation of events into a solemn but persuasive plasticity.

The literary tendencies found in the *Virtues* are closely connected to the fresco depicting the *Triumph of Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina (plate 60). This and other considerations lead us to believe that the *Triumph* was painted when Raphael was completing the first stanza, in 1511, rather than during his work on the second stanza (1512-14). Milizia was correct in writing that Raphael's "taste for drawing was Roman rather than Greek." If the plastic merits of *Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian* recall the prose of Tacitus, then the sensuality of the *Triumph* reminds one of Ovid's frank boldness. Here Raphael used the same formal means to achieve the purity of a Roman bas-relief. However, the

statuesque torsos, the rigid draperies, the economy of the foreshortenings, the crystal-clear light and, once again, the composition's rhythmic cadences expressed in periodical triangular forms, together with the balance of colors—all suggest a pictorial quality that is entirely peculiar to Raphael.

Shortly after the artist began to work on the second chamber, called the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, for which Julius II had devised a plan: propaganda for the political developments under his papacy. In this cycle too, by means of the recurring motif of the miraculous protection granted by divine Providence to the Church and to Faith (see page 55), Raphael achieved a unity of concept with great consistency of style, by subordinating his plastic values to those of light. This promotion of light to the status of supreme co-ordinator of a composition, following the new Bramantesque, or classical feeling for space, can be explained by Raphael's desire to escape from the titanic world of Michelangelo. On the other hand, in addition to the Venetian influences that became apparent at the end of the painter's stay in Florence (and over which he might conceivably have meditated in the course of a few years), there are in these frescos some undeniably Venetian tonalities recalling Dosso Dossi, Giovanni da Udine, Lorenzo Lotto (a theory convincingly expressed by Zanetti and Longhi), and Raphael's rival, Sebastiano del Piombo.

As in the case of the previous chamber, the ceiling and the walls of this second *Stanza* are of particular interest. This is especially true of the ceiling on which we find four biblical episodes (plates 66 and 67), commemorating the divine salvation of the people of Israel. The serious damage, the extensive repaintings, and the execution itself which is not by Raphael but by a collaborator (perhaps Peruzzi or



Marcillat) reduce, but do not extinguish the artistic vigor of the frescos. In the four sections of the vault, some powerful human figures are visible, obviously suggested by Michelangelo, but tempered by Raphael's lyricism, which coordinates them into a pattern of precious stones in a setting of unreal light. Their severe, static postures dissolve into impassioned and fantastic contortions.

The *Expulsion of Heliodorus* (plate 68), which seems to have been the first work painted on the walls, has a dramatic vehemence that is unique in Raphael's artistic career. There are signs of an irrepressible and unusual impulse: the contorted movement of the kneeling woman in the foreground, continued into the column-hugging spectators at left; the mad gallop of the celestial horseman, extended by the flying cloaks of his two running assistants; the struggling figure of the defeated Heliodorus (Michelangelo remembered this when he painted Saul in the Pauline Chapel). Raphael's dynamic substance, however, is entrusted to the luminous clash of torches in the temple's shadows, re-echoed in a crescendo of lights throughout the succession of domes, and finally in the falling light reflected from the architecture on to the figures. This miraculous light seems to personify the divine fury defeating the temple's desecrators, and is also instrumental in establishing the animation and balance of the two groups in the foreground, separated as they are by a large vacuum in the center. In fact, the whole picture is governed by an imposing contrast between solid volumes and spacial vacuums. This intensely pictorial emphasis cannot only be connected to Venetian tonalism, but may partially be interpreted as a prelude to eighteenth century taste. It is even visible in the brushwork, for instance, in the Goyesque group of worshippers behind the papal followers, standing in the shadow of the nave. Such incidents show

how Raphael's watchful eye could ensure the high standard of a particular work even when, as in this case, the greater part of its execution was left to his assistants.

In the next fresco, portraying the *Mass of Bolsena* (plate 72), the artist avenged himself for the lack of success of his *Parnassus*. Here, too, he had had to solve the problem of an unfavorable space. In fact, he turned to his own advantage the irregularity of the window's position in the large lunette, by painting an asymmetrical succession of steps leading up to the altar, and by grouping to the right all the figures at left of the altar. He thereby created an optical illusion which detracts from the eccentricity of the picture.

Having thus achieved an architectural unity, Raphael steeped the fresco with the rich impressionistic colors which he had derived from Venetian art. The altar's luminosity, the white linens, the reflected splendor of the vestments, the glittering torches all stand out in the dark cavity of the wooden reredos and are graduated in various tonal modulations: from the golden-green of the evening sky and its silver clouds to the springtime freshness of yellows and pinks in the group of women; in the opposite zone the Lotto-like ardor of blazing reds in the figures of prelates and the sumptuous colors in the uniforms of the Swiss Guards. The chromatic purity of this fresco was most appropriately described as a powerful form of impressionism *ante literam*. The definition seems even more apt if one considers that the unity of Raphael's colors was ensured, in this case, by the continuous presence of unifying gray hues.

Assistants' work has unfortunately marred the great dynamic conception of the *Repulsion of Attila* from the walls of Rome by Leo I, the chamber's third fresco (plate 80). We are nearing, at this point, the years 1513-14, when



Raphael was feeling the growing pressure of new appointments and commissions which prevented him from supervising the work of his pupils, and there were times when he was often compelled to stop painting altogether. Furthermore, while the *Repulsion of Attila* was being executed, Pope Julius died. This probably perturbed Raphael, as no one could be sure about the intentions of the new Pope. In fact Leo X, after his election, required several changes in the fresco (see page 59).

For these reasons a number of personal interventions were made by the master, and consequently the scene's importance was partially restored. It is indeed a beautiful page of historical and colorful eloquence, especially noticeable in the Papal group on the left (plate 82), in which Pope Leo X appears both as St Leo and as a cardinal riding behind him, against a Giorgionesque background of ruins bathed in the light of dawn (here, too, we are reminded of Lotto). Touches of life-giving transparent color are visible throughout the fresco, especially in the horses of the invaders.

The mural triptych of the *Liberation of St Peter* (plate 84) was the last of Raphael's work in the chamber, and here again his genius is apparent. The symmetrical, foreshortened scene groups together the various phases of the miraculous event, as if to stress, by their simultaneity, the compromise between reality and fantasy which inspires the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles (see page 60). So far as the formal execution is concerned, we find that the luminous texture of the fresco engenders many more fascinating observations. This painting is the only one in the whole Renaissance to contain five luminous sources (the moon, the dawn, the torch and the two angels), reflecting upon the metallic arms and the architectural elements. In the center, the iron prison bars contribute to the incandescent quality of the divine

liberator. His is a fabulous light through which the walls and the steel surrounding the angel come to life. *Constantine's Dream* by Piero della Francesca may have suggested to Raphael the possibilities of nocturnal effects, and Raphael made good use of this lesson when he employed these resources as exclusive means for creating his own drama. After Raphael, one has to wait until Caravaggio and Rembrandt to find a similar exaltation of light. The lateral sections of the triptych do not reveal the same free use of light, though the episode on the right (plate 87) lays emphasis on the "classical statue of light" (Ortolani) representing the savior of the first pope and the "surrealist" character of the corner-stone. But the brilliance here is still made subservient to naturalistic functions, such as bringing out St Peter's Masaccio-like features. On the left (plate 86), the pattern of reflected lights repeated by the parallel movements of the two groups, adds a touch of melodrama to the picture that is not really unified by the moonlight.

Similar methods, often damaged by his pupils' execution, can be found in many of Raphael's paintings completed in the period up to 1514. Among the ecclesiastical works, one may mention the cumbersome *St Cecilia* at Bologna (*Paintings*, plate 106), the more fluid *Madonna dell'Impannata* (*Paintings*, plate 109) and the *Madonna of the Curtain* (*Paintings*, plate 110), foreshadowing the circular conception that was to become perfect in the *Madonna of the Chair* (*Paintings*, plate 111) and the harmonic order which became absolute in the *Sistine Madonna* at Dresden (*Paintings*, plate 116). Raphael's maturity of style—he worked practically alone on the latter altarpiece—is equally visible in the neat and formally coherent portrait of *Fedra Inghirami* (*Paintings*, plates 112 and 113) and the atmospheric unity of *Baldassar Castiglione* (*Paintings*, plate 114).



In the autumn of 1512, Michelangelo completed the decoration of the vault in the Sistine Chapel. This apparently struck a sensitive chord in Raphael, and reawakened a desire to compete in the older master's own domain. That is why, perhaps, we find a return to the Michelangelesque style in the *Sybils*, executed about 1514 in Rome's Church of Santa Maria della Pace (plate 92). Here, the same motif underlying the Vatican's *Virtues* becomes animated in rhythmical tense lines, but at the same time the plastic dignity of the figures is toned down to the warmth of yellows and reds, inspired by Venetian art, and to the delicate diffused atmosphere that marks the *Portrait of Baldassar Castiglione*. One searches vainly for these qualities on the walls of the third Vatican *Stanza* which was decorated between 1514 and 1517 (the vault had been painted by Perugino in 1507-8).

The new *Stanza* commemorated the name of the reigning Pontiff, Leo X, with two episodes drawn from the lives of his predecessors of the same name, Leo III and Leo IV (see page 63). The *Stanza* was called after the *Fire in the Borgo* (plate 100), which opens the fresco cycle. The fresco's composition is little more than a disjointed sequence of melodramatic episodes expressing facile sentiments, anatomical expertise and a knowledge of classical history. In this mechanical "chess board of full and empty spaces" one may, however, find a few elements of lasting aesthetic value such as the Trojan group with Aeneas carrying his father (plate 102), which has fine chiaroscuro effects, and the herculean female carrying water (plate 103), whose Michelangelesque quality is dissolved in light.

The damage in the next large lunette, showing the *Battle of Ostia* (plate 105) does not even allow appreciation of separate fragments. Here, though, more careful preparation perhaps ensured greater organic unity to the general scheme,

which is dominated on the left by a grotesquely solemn Leo X. Colorless monotony mars the quality of the other two paintings, the *Coronation of Charlemagne* and the *Oath of Leo III before Charlemagne* (plates 106A and B). In the second one, in fact, all quality disappears, for the work is really tantamount to a gross caricature of the *Mass of Bolsena*.

This decline did not go undetected by some of Raphael's contemporaries, and, of course, by subsequent critics, especially the most recent ones. Some explained it by what they described as a gradual failing of Raphael's powers. Perhaps more correctly, others connected the deterioration with Raphael's feverish accumulation of appointments and tasks during his last years. He was thus compelled to grant an ever-growing autonomy to his assistants who, in some cases (notably in the *Battle of Ostia*) even planned the final cartoon for a work. (The pictorial schemes had become more or less their exclusive prerogative a long time before.) This naturally led to harsh comments about a man who showed no hesitation in signing works in which he had so small a part.

Insufficient importance has at times been attached to records of payments made to "Raphael's young apprentices," and not to the master himself, as in the case of the third *Stanza*. Yet one should remember that those apprentices stayed together even after Raphael's death, and were thus responsible for the whole cycle of the *Sala di Costantino*. True, they obtained the commission by claiming they were in possession of the drawings left by Raphael. Something, therefore, needs to be clarified about the relation between the apprentices and the master who for so long was held mainly responsible for their actions. One should remember that, from about 1514, Raphael became a kind of pictorial impresario, and not a "painter" in the traditionally accepted



sense of the word. In such a capacity, he would at times offer suggestions which were not much more than general ideas. Nothing prevents us from thinking that this was a matter of convenience or sheer lack of interest, but it would still be unfair to ignore other and more positive elements. On April 1, 1514, Raphael was appointed Architect of St Peter's as an assistant to Bramante. Four months after Bramante's death, he succeeded him as Chief Architect for the construction of the Basilica. The most reliable witnesses, amongst them Serlio, noted Raphael's zeal and determination in his new task. It is also a fact that he extended his architectural activities to the planning of new buildings, and furthermore to town-planning in Rome (see Biographical Notes). On August 27, 1515, a pontifical brief made Raphael Safekeeper of Ancient Inscriptions and Remains, an appointment which he discharged enthusiastically—he even envisaged a reconstruction of the plans of Imperial Rome (see Biographical Notes).

Meanwhile, the requests and commissions for his paintings, often by people of such eminence as to make a refusal impossible, were rapidly increasing. This forced Raphael to make more and more use of his assistants. He had, in addition, to roam further and further over the field of representational art, and at times even to stray from it. The measure of independence which he granted his assistants is proof enough of this but we also know that he was now reluctant to undertake new pictorial works.

From this evidence, one suspects that Raphael had actually lost interest in his old profession, and was now attracted to architecture or archaeology. He may have even dreamed of a marriage between the two former arts helped by the third. The home that he began building in Rome for Cardinal de' Medici, later called the Villa Madama, which

was to become a prototype of its kind might perhaps have revealed the full measure of Raphael's ideas on this subject, but he did not finish it, nor did he execute its fresco decoration. Neither was he able to complete the Chigi Chapel, the plans for which he had been drawing about 1516. He only finished the cartoons for the dome's mosaics and contributed in the execution of the marble Jonah, the drawings for which he gave Lorenzetto.

Yet in that very same period Raphael decorated Cardinal Bibbiena's bathing room in the Vatican (plates 107A and B). This work, perhaps, closely echoes his archaeological interests in the refined taste of his grotesques; he inserted some rectangular frames depicting mythological scenes in the ornate and imaginative Greco-Roman style. This classical style was greatly praised and even copied. But nowhere was the Renaissance dream of resurrecting the classical style so nearly realized as in the decoration of the Vatican *Logge*.

The *Logge* were planned by Raphael and executed by his apprentices in 1519. This cycle is known as Raphael's Bible, but its most interesting feature is to be found in the metrical harmony governing the insertion of paintings or stucco-reliefs into the series of grotesques rather than in single episodes painted inside the little vault (plates 128-153), which are mostly related to the Old Testament. The effervescence of the numerous motifs is disciplined, so much so inside the Bramantesque spaces that the taste for archaeology is translated into pure musical rhythm. The scenes painted inside the small domes—which are very far from perfect—have a clear vivacity of color, evocative “at times of majolica and at times of illuminated manuscripts” (De Campos). They seem indispensable elements of the harmony of the decoration. This is especially apparent if one visualizes the ruined



plaster in all its primitive glory, still visible in two half-pillars which have only recently come to light.

The same taste is manifest in the decorations of the upper *Loggetta* on the third floor (plates 154-156), painted immediately afterwards. Since Raphael also designed the architectural background, the harmony between the various parts, which are even more animated, has here a more immediately apparent effect. The poor condition of the work, however, often makes one prefer the lower *Logge*.

There is not a great difference of conception between the Vatican *Logge* and the *Loggia of Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina (plates 108-127), painted only a short time before, at the beginning of 1518. This is another lively exercise in a classical key, with a beautiful vine motif framing the mythological groups. The false tapestries painted on the vault to complete the illusion of vegetation reveal a perfect blend of the emerald-green foliage, the warmth of human flesh and the blue sky and golden clouds. If one looks too closely, one does find in these figures, as in the Vatican ones, the excesses of Giulio Romano and the poor workmanship of other assistants that had been given Raphael's drawings (these may be seen at Chatsworth, Windsor, Paris and elsewhere). In the drawings, the plastic effects are dissolved in a finely pictorial chiaroscuro. Here again, it becomes necessary to judge Raphael as a creator, whatever the verdict on his responsibility for the finished work.

In his last years, Raphael conceived and created some works of genius. In 1515-16, while he was working on the cartoons for the Vatican tapestries, he executed paintings in which he rendered in full the humanistic ideals of absolute nobility of bearing. These qualities, far from being a form of theatrical emphasis, are the spontaneous reflection of a very high ideal. He reached the apex of his *maniera grande* in

the *Delivery of the Keys* (Paintings, plate 153B) and in the portrait of *Leo X and Two Cardinals* (Paintings, plate 128), although in the latter work, certain luminous palpitations of the flesh may be described as proto-baroque. More obvious anticipation of future tendencies can be found in other late works, as in the *Transfiguration* (Paintings, plate 140), left unfinished at Raphael's death on April 6, 1520.

Left to themselves, his pupils attempted to carry on his work in the *Sala di Costantino* (plates 157-159). Their ambitious but uninspired results are, however, not worthy of comment, though echoes of the master appear throughout *Victory* (plate 157). Here co-ordination is definitely present, unifying the incoherent variety of single episodes. Thus the posthumous assistance Raphael gave to his apprentices created a *genre* which for centuries survived as a model for painters of battles.



## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1483, APRIL 6. Raphael born in Urbino, the son of Giovanni di Sante di Piero (a descendant of a Sante who had lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, hence the patronymic of "Santi") and of Maria di Battista di Nicola Ciarla.

1494, AUGUST 1. Giovanni Santi dies.

1500, DECEMBER 10. Together with Evangelista di Pian di Meleto, Raphael is entrusted with the execution of the altarpiece representing the *Coronation of St Nicholas of Tolentino* for the Church of Sant'Agostino in Città di Castello.

1504. Date of the *Marriage of the Virgin*, now in Milan. Raphael moves to Florence, perhaps in the autumn.

1505. Probable date of the fresco in the Church of San Severo at Perugia. Some historians considered this as having been painted much later, but Vasari notes this date in his *Lives*.

1507. Date of the *Deposition* now in the Borghese Gallery. On October 11, Raphael is recorded in Urbino.

1508, APRIL 21, he writes from Florence to his uncle, Simone Ciarla; on September 5, from a letter to the artist Francesco

Francia, he appears to be in Rome. During this interval he may have moved from Florence to Rome, but the second date is not acceptable since the letter to Francia is almost certainly counterfeit.

1509, JANUARY 13. He is known to be working, for the first time, in the Vatican, perhaps on the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

1511. Date under the frescos of the *Parnassus* and *The Virtues* in the Vatican *Stanza della Segnatura*. In a letter dated August 16, written by G. F. Grossi (called *Grossino*) to Isabella d'Este, Pope Julius II expresses a wish that Raphael should decorate "a chamber to be painted in the (Vatican) Palace," containing a portrait of Federico Gonzaga held as a hostage in the papal court. In the second half of that year, Raphael probably finished the *Triumph of Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina in Rome.

1512. Date under the *Mass of Bolsena* in the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*. Another letter from Grossino to Isabella d'Este mentions that Raphael is working in the apartment of Pope Julius II.

1513, JULY 7. He receives the sum of fifty ducats from Leo X's treasurer, presumably for his work in the *Stanza*. Leo X was elected Pope on March 11.

1514. Date of *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, the decoration of which was possibly completed about the end of June, as appears from a letter from Raphael to his uncle, Ciarla, dated July 1. On August 1, a payment of one hundred ducats is recorded "for the remaining paintings in the new chambers [of the Vatican]." These works, including the *Fire in the Borgo* and the *Triumph of Galatea* are also mentioned in a letter from Raphael to Castiglione probably written this year. Raphael is first appointed Architect of St Peter's (April 1) as Bramante's assistant, and then (August 1) as his successor.

1515. On August 27, he is appointed Safekeeper of Ancient Inscriptions and Remains of the City of Rome. On November 8, he is out of Rome and Bandinelli records (in a letter to Cosimo I, dated December 7, 1547) that Raphael is in Florence where he is discussing the project for the façade of San Lorenzo with the major Italian architects. The earliest records of the cartoons for the Vatican tapestries are dated June 15 of this year.

1516. Date of execution of the mosaics in the vault of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. These are by De Pace from Raphael's drawings. Raphael refuses Cardinal Gregorio Cortesi's request to decorate the refectory of the Convent of San Polidoro in Modena. In three letters (April 19, 23 and May 6), Bembo reports to Bibbiena on the decorations in the Cardinal's bath-room which Raphael completed inside that year as recorded in another letter by Bembo, dated

June 20. The date, June 8, appears on the tomb-stone of Hanno the elephant, frescoed by Pippi from a drawing by Raphael (see page 89). On December 20, Raphael is paid in full for his cartoons for the Vatican tapestries.

1517. In a letter of June 6 to the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso I of Este, the Ambassador Constabili writes: "[Raphael] has said that he has two more days' work in the Pope's Chamber." This is obviously related to the *Stanza dell' Incendio* where indeed, under the *Oath of Pope Leo III*, MCCCCXVII appears as the date of completion. Bembo, in a letter of July 19, states that the work had been finished only shortly before. The first mention of the Vatican *Transfiguration* is dated January 19. On April 25, Buonarroto di Ludovico, in a letter to Michelangelo, refers to the differences between the latter and Raphael. On July 1, Raphael's pupils are paid the sum of 20 ducats for the decoration of a Vatican Chamber, perhaps the *Stanza dei Palafrenieri*. In November, Raphael sends Alfonso I of Este the cartoon for the *Battle of Ostia*, the painting having been completed shortly before in the *Stanza dell' Incendio*.

1518. On January 1, in a letter to Michelangelo, Leonardo Sellaio informs him that the Lodge of Psyche in the Villa Farnesina has been unveiled. In March, Raphael receives "32 Ducats" (G. Libri, *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Splendid Manuscripts* . . . , London, 1859), probably as an advance for the decoration of the Vatican *Logge*. On July 11,



Raphael claims, in his position as Safekeeper of Ancient Remains, one or more statues left by a certain Gabriele de' Rossi (document in State Archives of Rome). In the course of the year, tapestries reach Rome from Brussels.

After 1518. Leo X appoints *motu proprio* Raphael and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: Masters of the Streets (*Maestri delle Strade*) (Vatican Archives).

1519. Raphael sends a letter (composed by Castiglione) to Pope Leo X about a plan for Imperial Rome. In March, two letters from the Este ambassadors in Rome mention the scenarios Raphael

devised for Ariosto's *I suppositi*. On June 16, Castiglione informs Isabella d'Este that the *Logge* are now completed. In a letter of June 3 to Federico Gonzaga, Castiglione refers to a design by Raphael for a tomb, possibly intended for Federico himself. In his will and testament of August 28, Chigi commissions Raphael to decorate his chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo.

1520. APRIL 6. Raphael dies in Rome "of a constant and cute fever." This was reported by Ambassador Paolucci to Alfonso I shortly after he had informed him (March 20) of Raphael's promise to prepare "three or four" designs for fireplaces for him.

## RAPHAEL'S FRESCOS

### Color Plate I

THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT. Detail of plate 8-9.

#### Plate I

MADONNA AND CHILD. *Fresco*, 97 × 67.\* *Urbino, Casa Santi*. Traditionally attributed to Raphael, but ascribed to his father, Giovanni Santi, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who consider it a painting of Raphael's mother with the future artist asleep in her arms. This opinion was frequently accepted and has been reiterated recently in 1952 by A. Venturi. Ragghianti, however (*La Deposizione di Raffaello*, Milan, 1948), reverted to the old attribution. Longhi, in 1955, sustained this on the basis of the fresco's similarity to the *Nativity of the Virgin* on the predella of Perugino's altarpiece in the Church of Santa Maria Nuovo at Fano (*Paintings*, plate 145). The fresco is in very poor condition and has been largely repainted.

#### Plate 2

TRINITY AND SAINTS. *Fresco, base*: 389. *Perugia, Church of the Monastery of San Severo*. The upper section reveals the Eternal Father, of whom only part of a red sleeve and a hand laid upon an open book are still visible.

The letters on the book read: A and Ω. There is also part of a halo and a fragment of God's head; on the left is a winged putto—matched by another on the right, whose remaining parts indicate that it has its back

to the viewer. In the middle of the center section are Christ, the Dove, and two angels; three Saints appear on each side: Maurus, Placidus, Benedict, Romualdus, Benedict the Martyr and John the Martyr; the latter's head has almost entirely disappeared. The name of each Saint is inscribed at his feet. On the base of the wall, at left, there is a scroll inscribed: RAPHAEL DE VRBINO D. OCTAVIANO STEPHANI VOLTERRANO PRIORE SANCTAM TRINITATEM ANGELOS ASTANTES SANCTOSQVE PINXIT. A.D. MDV. This inscription refers to the upper section. The inscription on the right refers to the lower section depicting the standing Saints. This section was painted by Perugino in 1521, for Raphael had died before the fresco was finished. However, since the date, 1505, inscribed on the left-hand scroll does not appear consistent with the style of the section to which it refers, Crowe and Cavalcaselle assumed that Raphael began this work in 1505 and finished it in 1507. A. Venturi, on the other hand, believed the inscription to have been painted centuries later, and it therefore had no documentary value. Ragghianti, too, considers the inscription "late" and Longhi appears to share this viewpoint when he stated that this work was executed by Raphael during the last period of his stay in Florence (1507-8). One should recall, however, Vasari's statement that Raphael here "wrote his name in large, very visible

\*All dimensions are given in centimeters.



letters." Ortolani, on the other hand, proposes the period 1504-5. Fischel dates it 1507, and Carli, 1508. The condition of the fresco prevents any definite opinion. In addition to the damage caused by damp and neglect, one must bear in mind the repaintings by Caraccioli (c. 1834) and the restoration executed around 1875 by Consoni (who repainted parts of St

Maurus and others, and the hair, wings and right arm of the *putto* on the left). The only section which can still be called original and untouched is the center one depicting Christ and the angels on either side of him.

### Plate 3

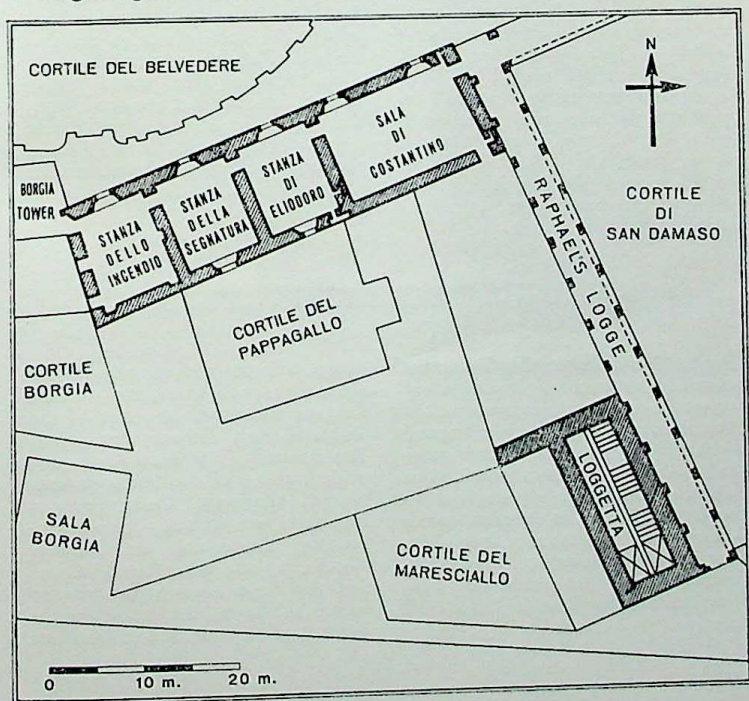
TRINITY AND SAINTS. Detail of Christ.

## THE VATICAN STANZE

The so-called *Stanze* consist of a succession of four intercommunicating chambers in the north wing of the twelfth-century palace of Pope Nicholas III in the Vatican (partially rebuilt by Nicholas V).

Beginning with the Chamber of

the Immaculate (*Sala dell'Immacolata*) the order is as follows: Chamber of the Fire (*Stanza dell'Incendio*), of the Segnatura (*della Segnatura*), of Heliodorus (*d'Eliodoro*) and the Hall of Constantine (*Sala di Costantino*)—the latter leading to the *Logge* (see



plan). The first three chambers are of modest proportions (about  $27 \times 21$  feet), with cruciform ceilings; the fourth is much wider (about  $27 \times 42$  feet) and, together with the room below, formed part of Nicholas III's residence. The others were part of the rebuilt wing. Around the mid-fifteenth century many painters worked there, notably Piero della Francesca, Luca Signorelli and Bartolomeo della Gatta. When Raphael arrived in Rome, perhaps in the autumn of 1508, the *Stanze* were being decorated by Perugino, Sodoma, Bramantino, Peruzzi and a number of minor artists, and had been commissioned by Pope Julius II who wanted to make the chambers his private apartments. In the much discussed letter to Francia, written on September 5 of that year (see Biographical Notes), Raphael described himself as "seriously and constantly worried" by problems that some critics connected with the Vatican *Stanza*. On the other hand, the *Codice Corsiniano*, which records the activities of the above-mentioned artists, does not mention Raphael's name.

This does definitely prove that Raphael was *not* engaged in the Vatican at that time. The first documented proof of his work in Pope Julius' apartment is dated January 13, 1509 (see Biographical Notes), and we know that shortly after that date, the Pontiff placed him in charge of the operation. The Pope ordered the other artists' work to be removed (Vasari), at least in so far as the walls were concerned, for some decorations are still visible on the ceilings. In some cases, the poor quality of the plaster, the damage caused by the Sack of Rome in 1527, and especially the numerous artists who constantly copied or traced the paintings on the walls (noted by John Evelyn in his *Diary*, 1644-61)—all this necessitated restoring and repairing the decorations as early as the end of the seventeenth century. (Even before then some minor restorations had been carried out.) The work was entrusted to Maratta (1702-3) who repainted whole areas, particularly along the dados, but his enthusiasm caused frequent restoration from then on.

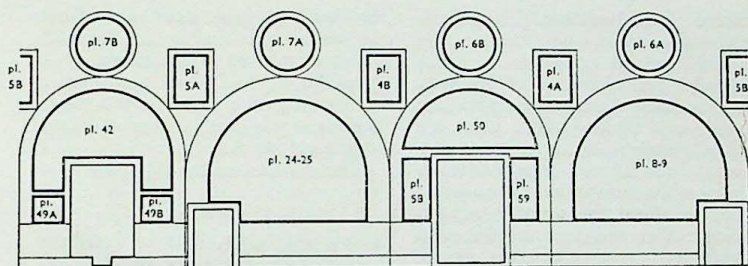
## STANZA DELLA SEGNAURA

(Plates 4-59)

Raphael began decorating the second chamber as part of Pope Julius' private apartments. It was called Segnatura because the celebrated ecclesiastical Tribunal of that name had held its hearings there. The chamber was originally destined to be Julius' library, as revealed by the order of the frescos: they follow the humanistic pattern of Theology, Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Poetry. This at least is Wickhoff's theory (in *Jahrbuch der kgl. preus-*

*schen Kunstmuseen*, 1893): but Klaczki (*Jules II*, Paris, 1898) insists that the room was the seat of the Tribunal from the very beginning. The lay-out of the decorations was made by one of the literary members of the papal Curia, perhaps Inghirami, or Arioste, Sannazzaro, Giovio, Calcagnini or Bembo. Giovio, on the other hand, claims that the Pope himself planned the order, following the neo-Platonist fashion, of the time. If one examines





the order closely, one may see in it an exaltation of the three supreme "categories" of the human spirit: Truth, both in its supernatural aspect as Theology; expressed in the so-called *Dispute of the Sacrament*, and in its natural or rational aspect as Philosophy, represented in the *School of Athens*; Good, both as a subjective principle (*Cardinal and Theological Virtues*), and as a juridical object, that is to say, the double aspect of Law—the canonical one (*Gregory IX Approving the Decretals*) and the civil one (*Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian*); finally, Beauty, as expressed through Poetry (*Parnassus*).

The order of the various areas was presumably as follows: vault, wall with the *Disputa*, wall with the *School of Athens*, wall with *Parnassus*, wall with *The Virtues*. The chiaroscuro upon the dado were executed later by Perin del Vaga to replace the original wooden covering by Fra' Giovanni da Verona, destroyed during the Sack of Rome in 1527. Raphael's own cycle was probably executed between 1508 and 1511.

### THE VAULT

(Plates 4-7)

The central octagon, depicting children dancing around the Papal

escutcheon, was attributed by A. Venturi to Bramantino, and by Coppier (*L'énigme de la Segnatura*, Paris, 1928) and Ortolani to Sodoma. The grotesques too, divided by four double compartments with classical scenes in the style of a high-relief above, and by multi-colored mythological subjects below, should be attributed to Raphael's predecessors, particularly to Sodoma (Vasari). The eight larger pictures, painted by Raphael, or under his direction, are connected with the Platonic theory of a spiritual ascent from the world of appearances to that of "pure ideas."

Raphael tried perhaps to develop here, in an ever increasing abstract form, the themes on the walls. The circular shaped allegories painted on the ceiling would therefore be the personifications of *Theology*, *Justice*, *Philosophy* and *Poetry*, represented in the major frescos. Each circular fresco has a diameter of about 180. Above the *Disputa* is *Theology* (plate 6A), clad in a white veil, green cloak and red robe (the colors of the Theological Virtues), with two angels on each side bearing the inscription: *Divinar[um] rer[um] notitia*, taken from Justinian (Wauscher). *Justice* (plate 6B), painted above *The Virtues*, is sealed between two angels and two children. The inscription reads: *Ius suum unicuique tribuit*, also

taken from Justinian (Wauscher). *Philosophy* (plate 7A), above the *School*, appears enthroned between two images of Diana of Ephesus (symbolizing Fecund Nature). She holds two books, whose titles are *Moralis* and *Naturalis*, and wears a robe divided into four bands of color representing the elements (blue: air, red: fire, green: water, yellow: earth). Two children on the sides bear the motto: *Causarum cognitio*, supposed by Wauscher to be from Cicero. Above *Parnassus* is *Poetry* (plate 7B), between two children bearing Vergil's words *Numine afflatur* (Aeneid VI, 50).

Following the same order, the compositions in rectangles above the pendentives of the arches represent: *Adam and Eve* (plate 4A), guilty of the *felix culpa* which caused Christ to come to earth (Supernatural Truth); the *Solomon in Judgment* (plate 4B), symbolizing Good; *Astronomy*, or the *Creation of the Planets* (plate 5A), symbolizing either a scientific contemplation of the heavenly globe, or an allegory of the initial impulse given to the universal machinery—this represents Natural Truth; *Apollo and Marsyas* (plate 5B), exalting Beauty. Modern critics are doubtful about the authorship of the latter work. De Campos believes it to have been painted perhaps by Peruzzi, and Ortolani tentatively suggests Sodoma. Arslan attributes it unreservedly to Sodoma, together with *Adam and Eve* (Dedalo, 1929). These are most fascinating theories, though one should reject Coppier's theory that Sodoma painted the whole vault. Passavant claimed that the ceiling was decorated after the *Disputa*, but there are reasons both of style and of a practical nature for accepting the contrary. As Crowe and Cavalcaselle correctly assumed,

the ceiling was painted before the walls—presumably in the last months of 1508 (A. Venturi suggests the beginning of 1509)—and in the following order: *Astronomy*, *Solomon in Judgment*, *Adam and Eve*, *Apollo and Marsyas*.

The circular frescos followed.

#### Plate 4A

ADAM AND EVE. Rectangular compartment on the vault of the *Segnatura*.

#### Plate 4B

SOLOMON IN JUDGMENT. See above.

#### Plate 5A

ASTRONOMY OR CREATION OF THE PLANETS. See above.

#### Plate 5B

APOLLO AND MARSYAS. See above.

#### Plate 6A

THEOLOGY. A circular fresco on the vault of the *Segnatura*.

#### Plate 6B

JUSTICE. See above.

#### Plate 7A

PHILOSOPHY. See above.

#### Plate 7B

POETRY. See above.

### THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT

(Plates 8-23 and Color Plates I and II)

The title generally accepted for the *lunettone* (base about 18 feet) sprang into fashion in the seventeenth century and was due to a misreading of Vasari's text. The fresco should



rather have been called: *Triumph of Christian Religion*, or *Exaltation of the Eucharist*. At the top, in the apse-like shell composed of small angels and bounded by two groups of angels on the sides (plates 12 and 13), is the Eternal Father; beneath Him, in a halo of cherubs and seraphim, Christ is seated between Mary and John the Baptist; at their feet, the mystical dove and four boys carry the Holy Gospel volumes (plate 10). The lower semicircle of clouds supports the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament and the Apostles and Confessors of the New. Identifying them from the left: St Peter, Adam, St John the Evangelist, David, St Stephen and Jeremiah (plate 14). Opposite, on the right, are Judas Maccabaeus, St Lawrence, Moses, a saint—who has been variously described as James the Elder, Younger, or Matthew—then Abraham and St Paul (plate 15).

On the earth section and on both sides of the altar decorated with a Leonardesque pattern of knots, are many figures, not all of whom are easily identified.

Traditionally, looking from left (plate 16), is the gaunt friar, Beato Angelico (plate 21); in the foreground, leaning on the stone balustrade, Bramante points at an open book as he turns to a stranger (plate 18); the youth pointing to the altar is perhaps Francesco Maria della Rovere, a nephew of Julius II (Flugi d'Aspremont); other unknown figures follow, till St Gregory the Great—with the features of Pope Julius (see comment on plate 16)—in the enthroned Pontiff with the *Liber Moralium* at his feet. Next to him St Jerome studies a book, and beside him is the Bible and the Epistles, which he translated. The elected Bishop is identified as

St Ignatius of Antioch or as St Justin. On the other side of the altar (plate 17) an old man addresses St Ambrose who is seated, his eyes turned to heaven; next to him is St Augustine with the City of God at his feet—like the other three Doctors of the Church he has his name inscribed in the halo; behind Augustine and his kneeling secretary are St Thomas Aquinas, Pope Innocent III and St Bonaventura; the Pope with the golden cope is Sixtus V, with *De sanguine Christi*, an impassioned treatise written in his youth, at his feet. No one could fail to recognize Dante's profile—he was acknowledged as a theologian by his contemporaries. Behind the others is the hooded face of Savonarola, who was highly thought of by Julius II (plate 19).

The architectural area leading to the altar represents the base of a stand which was being built in St Peter's at the time; the huge blocks of half-dressed marble laid on it reminded Enca Silvio Piccolomini of colossal ancient walls (Grimm).

The fresco is generally considered as an autograph work by Raphael, though Arslan (in *Dedalo*, 1929) attributes to Sodoma the young Francesco Maria della Rovere. Richardson suggested quite correctly (*An Account of the Statues . . . in Italy*, London, 1722) that this was the first work painted upon the *Segnatura* walls, and therefore it should be dated 1509, though it was possibly begun in the last months of 1508. Some alterations in color, due to possible retouching after completion, and several cracks are noticeable now.

#### Plates 8 and 9

THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT. General view.

Plate 10

THE TRINITY WITH THE VIRGIN  
AND JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Plate 11

CHRIST. Detail of head.

Plate 12

ANGELS. Group on the left.

Plate 13

ANGELS. Group on the right.

Plate 14

PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS.  
Group on the left.

Plate 15

PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS.  
Group on the right.

Plate 16

EARTHLY FIGURES. Group on the left. It was Hartt who (in *Art Bulletin*, 1951) first spotted the features of Julius II in the figure of Gregory the Great (the Pope enthroned on the left of the altar and looking up to heaven). We know that Julius was clean-shaven when he left Rome in autumn, 1510, to fight the French. After he arrived at Bologna he vowed that he would not shave again until he had liberated Italy. Defeated, he returned to Rome in 1511 and from that year to his death he remained bearded, and appears this way in the fresco of *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals* (plate 59).

Color Plate II

THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT. Detail of plate 8-9.

Plate 17

EARTHLY FIGURES. Group on the right.

Plate 18

ANGELICO, BRAMANTE AND  
OTHERS.

Plate 19

DANTE, SAVONAROLA AND  
OTHERS.

Plate 20

GREGORY THE GREAT AND  
OTHERS.

Plate 21

HEAD OF BEATO ANGELICO.

Plate 22

HEAD OF FIGURE. In the right foreground.

Plate 23

HEAD OF DANTE.

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS

(Plates 24-41 and Color Plate III)

The base of the large lunette measures about 18 feet. Vasari states that the Basilica's design is by Bramante; in fact, certain elements in it recall St Peter's, and also other classical buildings, among them the Arch of Janus, Constantine's Basilica, that of Maxentius and the Caracalla Baths. This may be seen in the statues of Apollo and Minerva in the lateral niches and the underlying bas-reliefs, portraying a fight between a nymph and a Triton beneath Apollo and a sitting woman and two children under Minerva (of the lower bas-relief only the back of a nude is visible).

Other parts of statues and bas-reliefs are visible along the fresco's edge, on the walls of the nave in the center and in the transept. At the base of the dome are two circular frescos; one shows a man looking up from a book, the other a woman resting her arm upon a globe, perhaps as a reminder of the fresco's



subject. The central figures of the picture, standing at the top of the steps, are Plato (plate 27), with his *Timæo* under his arm, and Aristotle, carrying his book, *Ethics*. Their gestures symbolize, according to some critics, the two supreme systems devised by classical thought: Plato points to heaven, the sole reality of the world of "ideas" (idealism); Aristotle stands on Plato's left (this is a sign of the times, science giving way to knowledge), his hand between heaven and earth in order to show "how the universal has no existence of its own, but comes alive only through the particular" (De Campos), as a subject for investigation in the field of physics (realism). From the left, in the group by the side of Plato, are first three unknown men (plate 30) being summoned by Chrysippus (plate 35); in front of the three unknown, the profile of an old man, perhaps Zeno; next to him, and wearing a crown of vine leaves, Epicurus; between Epicurus and Averrhoes, seen bending his turbaned head, is the head of a boy whose features are those of Federico Gonzaga (see comment on plate 30); in front of these, Empedocles (or Boetius) looks over the shoulder of Pythagoras who writes on a tablet held by one of his young disciples, perhaps Telange (plate 32). The noble youth clad in white passing behind this group is traditionally identified as Francesco Maria della Rovere. The man standing with a foot on the block of stone has not been identified: some believe he is Parmenides, others Xenocrates (Scherer), or Aristoxenus (plate 36). The man sitting alone is not Epictetus, as was generally believed in the eighteenth century, but Heraclitus (see comment on color plate III). Diogenes, the cynic,

half-lying on the steps (plate 34), appears to have shocked the refined students of the Academy, who are moving away towards a group of unknowns. In the right foreground, watched by four pupils (plate 33)—one of whom has also been identified with Federico Gonzaga—Euclid, rather than Archimedes, his curved body resembling a human pair of compasses, is seen measuring a geometrical form. Next to them, Zoroaster confronts the observer with the celestial sphere in his hand, and Ptolemy, his back turned, holds the earthly globe (his crown stems from the mistaken thought that he was also the ancient Egyptian king). Then we have Raphael and Sodoma, who was the former's predecessor and collaborator (Gamba) in decorating the chamber. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest the figure is Perugino rather than Sodoma. These two are not the only artists depicted in the fresco. Plato condemned the arts and neo-Platonism, though rehabilitating poets, did not spare representational artists, who are omitted even from the *Parnassus*. De Campos submitted the interesting theory that, for these reasons, Raphael, too young to oppose the veto, protested discreetly by giving some of his sages the features of his favorite colleagues and masters. In Plato (plate 28), A. Venturi saw Leonardo da Vinci (in *Il Messaggero*, February 7, 1926); others recognized Bramante in Euclid (see comment on plate 33); Heraclitus was seen as Michelangelo.

This work is believed to have been begun in 1509 (about the time of the completion of the *Dispute*) and fairly rapidly completed by 1510 (with the exception of the figure of Heraclitus). The fresco is also thought to be entirely by Raphael's own hand.

We cannot accept Jacobi's theory (published by Scherer) that Zoroaster's figure was partially repainted due to damage—of which there is no trace. Abrasions, fading of color and two deep cracks are visible.

#### Plates 24 and 25

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. General view.

#### Plate 26

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES in the center.

#### Plate 27

PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

#### Plate 28

PLATO. Detail of the head.

#### Plate 29

ARISTOTLE. Detail of the head. This figure was once believed to be St Paul (see comment on plates 40 and 41).

#### Plate 30

EPICURUS AND OTHERS. On August 16, 1511, Grossino wrote to Isabella d'Este that Pope Julius II wanted Raphael to paint in one of the *Stanze* a portrait of Federico Gonzaga (see Biographical Notes). Passavant, supported by Müntz and others, recognizes Federico's features in the boy between Epicurus and Averrhoes. Vasari thought Federico was the astonished young man with open arms and lowered head by the side of Euclid (plates 33 and 39). Campori (*Notizie* . . . , Modena, 1870) identified Federico in the boy who, again in Euclid's group, rests one knee on the floor. As Grossino's letter states that the *Stanza* in question is the one in which Raphael had already portrayed

Julius II, some critics, thinking of the *Mass of Bolsena* (plate 72), assumed that the latter work was painted in 1511, though it bears the date MDXII. Others saw in the letter a reference to the *Segnatura* fresco Gregory IX *Approving the Decretals* (plate 59). The recent identification of Pope della Rovere's features in the *Dispute* (see comment on plate 16) seems to confirm that the letter to Isabella deals with the first chamber to be decorated, i.e. the *Stanza della Segnatura*. The date, 1511, clashes, however, with the one generally accepted for the *School of Athens*. If one were definitely to accept Passavant's hypothesis one could, of course, assume that Raphael painted Federico's features after he had finished the fresco, as he did with the figure of Heraclitus (see comment on color plate III). But this seems improbable.

#### Plate 31

FIGURE IN BLACK on the right.

#### Plate 32

PYTHAGORAS, HERACLITUS AND OTHERS.

#### Color Plate III

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. Detail of plate 24-25. This figure of Heraclitus does not appear in the cartoon for the *School of Athens* at Milan.

Beltrami (*Il cartone di Raffaello per la Scuola d'Atene* . . . , Milan, 1920) believes it to have been inserted into the fresco "at the time of execution." But close examination of the plaster shows it to be a later addition, which required some hard work with a pick as the wall had obviously already been painted over. This material observation is confirmed by stylistic



considerations. Given the Michelangelesque character of the figure, one may assume that it was painted by Raphael between August 14, 1511, when the first half of the Sistine Chapel was unveiled, and November of the same year, when Raphael had already proved—with *The Virtues* (plate 30)—that he could control the influence that Michelangelo's recent works had on him (De Campos). If one were to believe Vasari's gossip, we should assume that, having secretly looked at the Chapel where Michelangelo had temporarily interrupted his work (between August, 1510 and August, 1511), Raphael hurried back to reproduce the novelties he had seen there. This second suggestion does not appear to be in keeping with Raphael's character. One should rather believe, with De Campos, that the features of Heraclitus are in fact those of Michelangelo. This would give the late insertion a totally different significance by explaining it as a respectful—and not at all disloyal—act of homage to a fellow artist.

#### Plate 33

EUCLID, ZOROASTER, PTOLEMY, RAPHAEL, SODOMA AND OTHERS. In the *Segnatura* frescos Raphael remained faithful to the Umbrian custom of decorating the edges of his figures' robes with gold imaginative patterns.

De Campos (in *Arti figurative*, October, 1945) noticed that on the neck of Euclid's tunic, the pattern consisted of actual letters. These were R V S M, followed by two interconnected letters V, and by four thin lines intended to "allow the gilded area to fade into the shadow." Only the first four letters would appear to have meaning, as they are

the initial of the artist's signature: *Raphael Vrbinas Sua Manu*. Bertini Calosso, however (in *Arti figurative*, December, 1945), suggested that the next two letters should be read not as two Vs, but as the interconnection of a D and a V, and the four lines that follow them as so many Is. This would give us an inscription reading: R VS MDVIII, and signifying: *Raphael VrbinaS MDVIII*. This amendment was not accepted by De Campos.

#### Plate 34

DIOGENES.

#### Plate 35

CHRYSIPPUS, ALCIBIADES(?), XENOPHON, AND ANOTHER.

#### Plate 36

FRANCESCO MARIA DELLA ROVERE(?) AND OTHERS.

#### Plate 37

APOLLO. A chiaroscuro of the statue in the left hand niche.

#### Plate 38

ONE OF EUCLID'S PUPILS. Detail of the head.

#### Plate 39

FEDERICO GONZAGA(?). Detail of the head. (See comment on plate 30.)

#### Plates 40-41

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. *Drawing in black chalk, 274 x 748. Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.* This is the only remaining cartoon for the Vatican frescos. It was deposited in the Ambrosiana on July 1, 1610, on behalf of Count Fabio Borromeo Visconti. At the time it was divided into two parts. Later it was acquired by Cardinal Federico Borromeo,

who had it repaired and donated it to that Gallery. In 1796, the cartoon was included in Napoleon's list of requisitions, where it was also described as *St Paul Preaching in Athens' Areopagus*. This reflects the confusion prevailing at the time between Aristotle and the Apostle. After being exhibited in the Louvre's Gallery of Apollo from 1802-15, it was returned to the Ambrosiana. It does not include the architectural elements seen in the fresco, nor the figures of Heraclitus, Raphael and Sodoma.

The drawing is generally believed to be authentic, with the exception of Coppier (see above) who points, among other things, to a discrepancy in measurements between the drawing and the fresco. It was executed, of course, before the fresco, which in fact is a stylistic elaboration of the cartoon.

#### Plates 40-41A

PYTHAGORAS AND OTHERS.

#### Plates 40-41B

STUDENTS OF THE ACADEMY.

#### Plates 40-41C

EUCLID AND HIS PUPILS.

### THE PARNASSUS WALL

(Plates 42-49)

The *Parnassus* lunette (base about 15 feet) also includes part of the sections on both sides of the window, the breadth of which, at the base is about 6 feet (plates 42-48). Near the springs of Castalia, Apollo plays his viol (not the traditional lyre); he is surrounded by twenty-eight figures of muses and poets. The group on his

left consist of (plate 44): the poet Ennius (see comment on plate 44), listening to Homer declaiming—his blind face Gruyer would have moulded on that of Laocoön; between the two figures is Dante's profile and, on the other side of Homer, Vergil with another poet, perhaps Statius.

Next (plate 43), the Muses: Thalia holding the mask of comedy, Clio and Euterpe (plate 46), with the recumbent Calliope in front of them. Beneath these figures are (plate 44): Alcaeus, Corinna, Petrarch, Anacreon and Sappho holding up a scroll inscribed with her name (plate 48). On Apollo's right (plate 43) one can recognize: Erato seated, Polyhymnia, Melpomene hiding the tragic mask, Terpsichore, Urania (plate 47), and farther down the brow of the hill (plate 45) Antonio Tebaldeo (or perhaps Castiglione), Boccaccio, another poet believed to be Tibullus, Ariosto (or Tebaldeo) and Propertius; in front of them Horace (identified by Passavant) is seated next to Ovid, holding his finger to his lips, and Sannazzaro. Passavant also suggests that in Apollo are the features of the musician and improviser, Sansecondo, who was very well-known in Raphael's time. On the window ledge an inscription reads: JULIVS II. LIGVR. PONT. MAX. ANN. CHRIST. MDXI. PONTIFICAT. SVI. VIII. The date 1511, which must surely refer to the *Stanza's* completion, might also refer to the finishing touches of *Parnassus*. It seems, however, that this fresco was painted before the opposite lunette depicting *The Virtues* (which bears the same date). *Parnassus* was probably begun in 1510 or in the latter part of 1509, as assumed by Fischel, Suida and other critics.



This fresco has suffered the most damage of the Segnatura frescos, particularly in the sky area. Many retouchings are noticeable here and its original beauty has dimmed. But Raphael's hand is clearly visible still and Sodoma's authorship cannot be detected, as claimed by Coppier (see above).

The two imitations of bas-reliefs beneath the fresco represent *Augustus Rescuing Vergil's Aeneid from the Fire* (plate 49A) and *Alexander the Great Depositing the Poems of Homer in the Tomb of Achilles* (plate 49B). The first monochrome, on the left side of the window, measures 185 at the base, the second 180. Crowe and Cavalcasse observe that both works are conceived "in a style worthy of Raphael," though perhaps translated on to the wall by Perin del Vaga. This opinion is almost unanimously shared by modern critics. Suida thinks that the two *grisailles* may have been painted later, possibly in 1514. Fischel seems inclined to believe them original works by Raphael.

Plate 42

PARNASSUS. General view.

Plate 43

APOLLO AND THE MUSES.

Plate 44

POETS. Group on the left. The young man seated by the laurel tree was recognized as the poet, Ennius, by De Campos in 1946. This theory would seem to be justified by the fact that Ennius was described by Suetonius as *semigrecus* and by Horace as *Alter Homerus*, for his liking for the Greeks.

Plate 45

POETS. Group on the right.

Plate 46

THALIA, CLIO AND EUTERPE.

Plate 47

MELPOMENE, TERPSICHORE AND URANIA.

Plate 48

SAPPHO.

Color Plate IV

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA.  
Detail of plate 60.

Plate 49A

AUGUSTUS RESCUING VERGIL'S  
AENEID FROM THE FIRE. (See  
comment on plate 44.)

Plate 49B

ALEXANDER THE GREAT DE-  
POSITING THE POEMS OF HOMER  
IN THE TOMB OF ACHILLES. (See  
comment on plate 44.)

THE VIRTUES WALL

(Plates 50-59)

This wall is dominated by the lunette with the *Cardinal and Theological Virtues*, which extends from a base measuring about 15 feet to the top of the window (plates 50-57). Moving from the left, we see *Fortitude* with an oak branch in her hand that symbolizes the family name of Pope Julius II (della Rovere). *Prudence* has two faces (but the old man's profile at the back of her head looks rather like a freak resulting from the arrangement of her hair); she gazes into a mirror held by a winged boy. *Moderation* holds up the bridle of passions. The first of the boys has a purely decorative function; the third one has the task of assisting *Prudence*; the others represent the Theological Virtues. *Charity* is shaking acorns from the tree of *Fortitude*, *Hope*

raises a flaming torch, and *Faith* points to the sky. Some critics think *The Virtues* were painted after *Parnassus* but the affinities of style with the frescos in the *Heliodorus* chamber *Stanza d'Elidoro*, observed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, would suggest the reverse. This fresco, however, was finished within the year 1511, the date inscribed just over the window beneath it:  
JVLIVS II. LIGVR. PONT. MAX.  
AN. CHRIS. MDXI. PONTIFI-  
CAT. SVI. VIII.

Below, on the left side of the window, is the fresco depicting *Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian* (plate 58), measuring about 4 feet at the base. This appears at the side of the *School of Athens* which exalts Philosophy as the basis of natural right. The emperor is seen in profile, enthroned before a niche and surrounded by six men of law, clad in sixteenth-century robes. The two doctors on the right, carrying books, are said to be Theophilus and Dorotheus. The serious damage that makes the painting almost impossible to analyze is possibly due to faulty preparation of the plaster (Crowe and Cavalcaselle). In De Campos' opinion the fresco was never finished, and the majority of modern critics believe it was executed by Raphael's school. Gronau thinks that it was painted at the time of the *Heliodorus* chamber. Coppiert attributes it to Sodoma. Pallucchini (*Sebastian Viniziano*, Milan, 1944) cautiously submits the theory of a restoration, about 1527, by Sebastiano del Piombo.

The fresco on the other side of the window (plate 59) shows *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals Handed to him by St Raymond of Penafort* (about 4 feet at the base). This appears next to the *Dispute*, for theology is known

to contain the premises of ecclesiastical law. Here the Pontiff is presented with the features of Pope Julius II. Of the prelates of his suite, the one on the left is Giovanni de' Medici, behind are Alessandro Farnese and Antonio del Monte. Early scholars saw Raphael's hand in this fresco, but the modern theory favors a pupil, perhaps Peruzzi, because of certain similarities between this work and the vaulting of the *Heliodorus* chamber. More recently, Donati has suggested G. de Marcillat. The painting's bad condition (especially the figures of the Pope and Cardinal de' Medici) and the interference by Raphael's assistants do not help establish its date. It should, however, have been painted more or less at the same time as the *Virtues*, but not before 1511, because of Pope Julius' beard (see comment on plate 16).

#### Plate 50

CARDINAL AND THEOLOGICAL  
VIRTUES. General view.

#### Plate 51

PRUDENCE AND HOPE.

#### Plate 52

FORTITUDE AND CHARITY.

#### Plate 53

HOPE, MODERATION AND FAITH.

#### Plate 54

MODERATION. Detail of the head.

#### Plate 55

MODERATION. Detail of drapery.



Plate 56

PRUDENCE. Detail of boy holding the mirror.

Plate 58

TRIBONIAN HANDING THE CODE TO JUSTINIAN. Detail.

Plate 57

HOPE.

Plate 59

GREGORY IX APPROVING THE DECRETALS. General view.

Plate 60

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. *Fresco*, 295 × 225. Rome, *Villa Farnesina*, *Sala della Galatea*. This theme, developed by authors as early as Theocritus and Ovid, was probably taken from Poliziano's *Giostra*. The boy, Palaemon, "clings to the dolphin's beard" (Crowe and Cavalcaselle) steering Galatea's shell. The gliding goddess is followed by tritons and nereids. In the sky above cupids let arrows fly. Tradition has it that Chigi withdrew the commission he had given Sebastiano del Piombo for this fresco and gave it to Raphael. The classical inspiration, noted by Grimm, was correlated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to the reliefs of the *Chorus of Aphrodite* in Rome's Capitol Museum. Berenson considers it to have been painted before 1515; Gronau and Fischel are in favor of 1514, Gamba suggests 1511-13, Ortolani 1512-13, Hermanin and Suida 1511-12; A. Venturi and Carli, emphasizing that it was completed before the second Vatican *Stanza*, prefer 1511, a year which is definitely accepted by Ragghianti and D'Ancona. The latter, in fact, believes the *Galatea* to have been

painted halfway through 1511 because of documented references to it before the end of 1511 and at the beginning of 1512. Giulio Romano's hand, noted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle throughout the fresco, except for the top half of Galatea's figure, is fairly obvious. But Raphael's work is certainly evident, notably in the cupids and in the conch-blowing triton. A few areas have been obscured by damage, and also by retouching executed, perhaps in the seventeenth century, by Mariscotti.

Plate 61

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. Head of Galatea.

Plate 62

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. Tritons and Nereids.

Plate 63

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. Tritons and Nereids.

Plate 64

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. Cupid shooting an arrow.

## LOCATION OF FRESCOS

### PERUGIA

CHURCH OF SAN SEVERO  
*Trinity and Saints* (plates 2 and 3).

### ROME

ACADEMY OF SAN LUCA  
*Figure of Boy* (plate 91).

CHURCH OF SANT'AGOSTINO  
*Isaiah* (plate 90).

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA  
DELLA PACE  
*Sibyls and Angels* (plates 92-99).

VILLA FARNESINA  
*The Triumph of Galatea* (plates 60-64 and color plate IV, Part 1).  
*The Lodge of Psyche* (plates 108-127).

VATICAN PALACES  
*Stanza della Segnatura: Vault* (plates 4-7); *Dispute of the Sacrament* (plates 8-23 and color plates I, II, Part 1); *School of Athens* (plates 24-39 and color plate III, Part 1; Cartoon—plates 40-41—in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana at Milan); *Parnassus* (plates 42-48); *Augustus Rescuing Vergil's Aeneid from the Fire* (plate 49A); *Alexander the Great Depositing the Poems of Homer in the Tomb of Achilles* (plate 49B);

*Cardinal and Theological Virtues* (plates 50-57); *Tribonian Handing the Code to Justinian* (plate 58); *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals* (plate 59).

*Stanza d'Eliodoro: Vault* (plates 65-67); *Expulsion of Heliodoros* (plates 68-71); *The Mass of Bolsena* (plates 72-79 and color plates V, VI, Part 2); *Repulsion of Attila* (plates 80-83); the *Liberation of St Peter* (plates 84-89).

*Stanza dell'Incendio: Fire in the Borgo* (plates 100-104 and color plates VII, VIII, Part 2); *Battle of Ostia* (plate 105); *Coronation of Charlemagne* (plate 106A); *Oath of Leo III before Charlemagne* (plate 106B).

Cardinal Bibbiena's Bathing Room: *Decorations* (plate 107).

*Logge: Stories from the Old and New Testaments* (plates 128-153); *Loggetta: Decorations* (plates 154-156).

*Sala di Costantino: Victory over Maxentius* (plate 157); *Allegories* (plates 158A and B); *Vision of the Cross* (plate 158C); *Gift of Rome to the Papacy* (plate 159A); the *Baptism of Constantine* (plate 159B).

### URBINO

CASA SANTI  
*Madonna and Child* (plate 1).



## REPRODUCTIONS

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR PLATES

*Anderson, Rome:* plates 2-14, 16-50, 52-55, 59-64, 66-95, 98, 100-6, 106B, 109-29, 157, 158, 159B.  
*Alinari, Florence:* 1, 15, 51, 56-58, 65, 96, 97, 99, 106A, 130-53, 159A. *Vasari, Rome:* 108. *Scala, Florence:* color plates 1, II, III, IV (Part 1), VII, VIII (Part 2). *The remaining plates supplied by private sources.*



THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT,  
Rome, Vatican (detail of plate 8-9)



R  
n  
o  
th  
at  
th  
al  
  
B  
m  
by  
fo  
R  
in  
be  
  
of  
C  
he  
as  
su  
  
de  
ar  
fre  
de





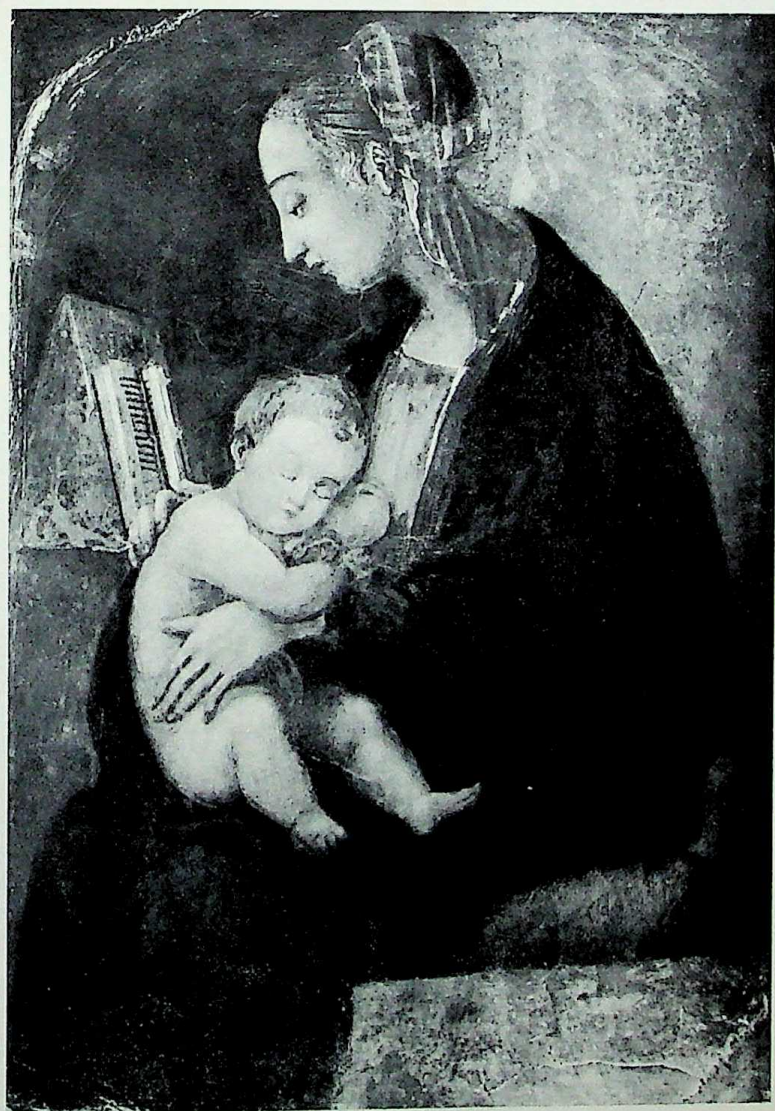


Plate I. MADONNA AND CHILD,  
Urbino, Casa Santi



Plate 2. TRINITY AND SAINTS,  
Perugia, Church of San Severo





CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow  
Plate 3. *Detail of plate 2*



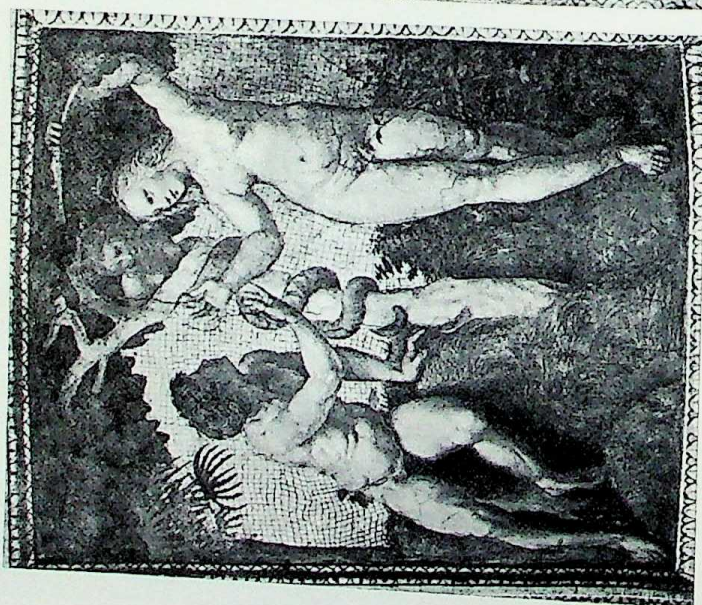
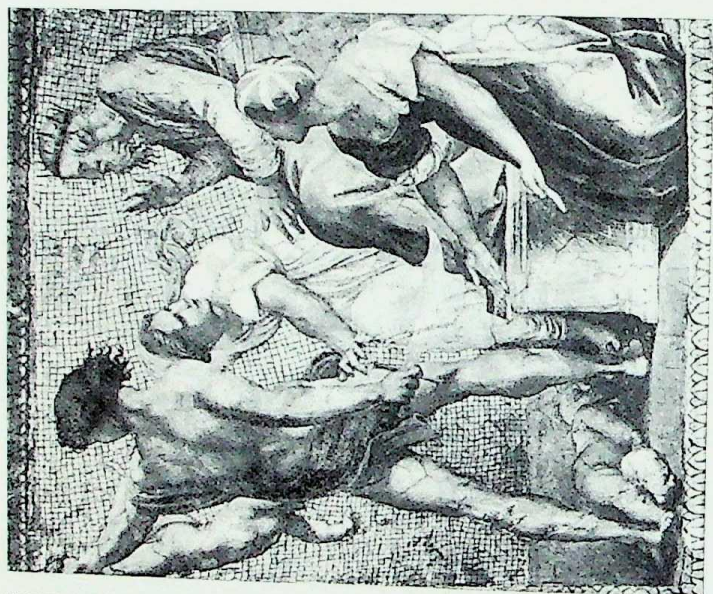


Plate 4. ADAM AND EVE AND SOLOMON IN JUDGMENT, Rome, Vatican



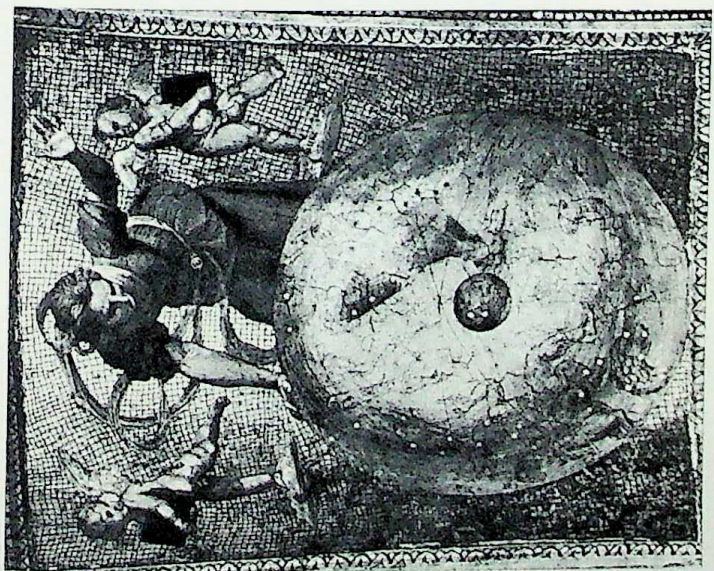
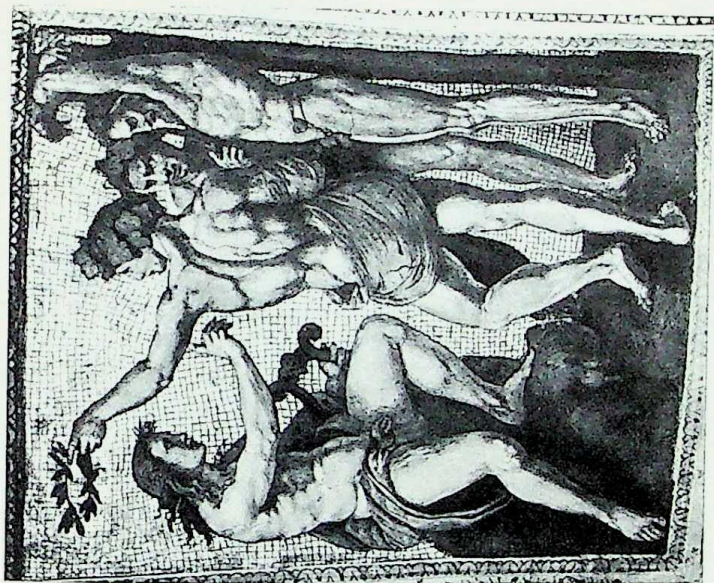


Plate 5. ASTRONOMY and APOLLO AND MARSYAS, Rome, Vatican



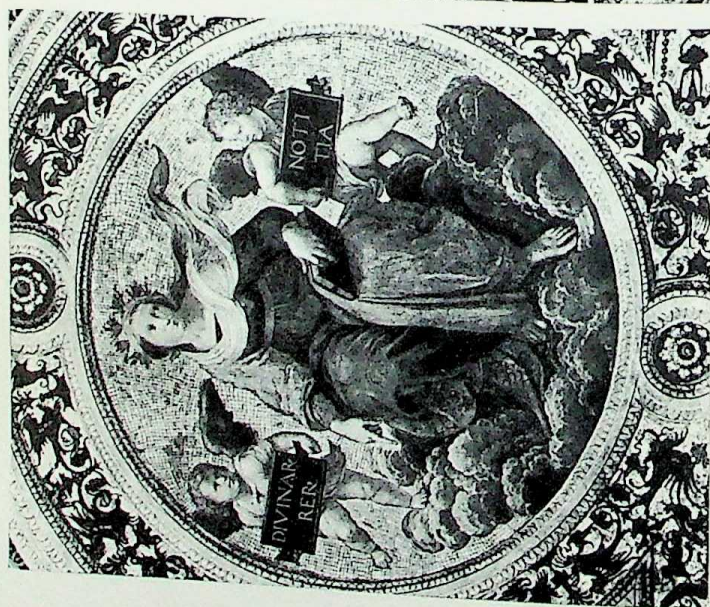


Plate 6. THEOLOGY and JUSTICE, Rome, Vatican



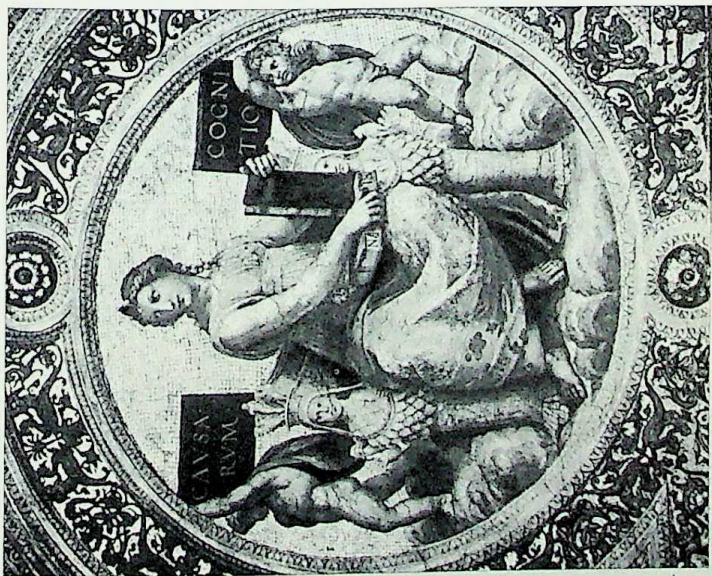
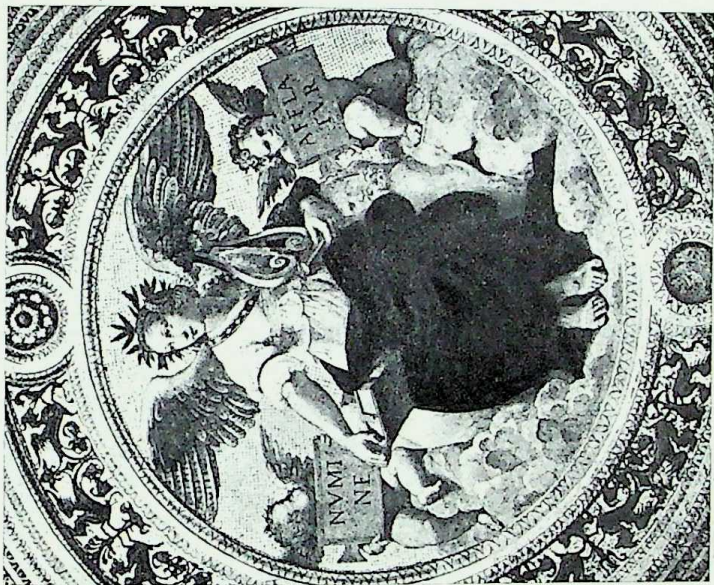


Plate 7. PHILOSOPHY and POETRY, Rome, Vatican



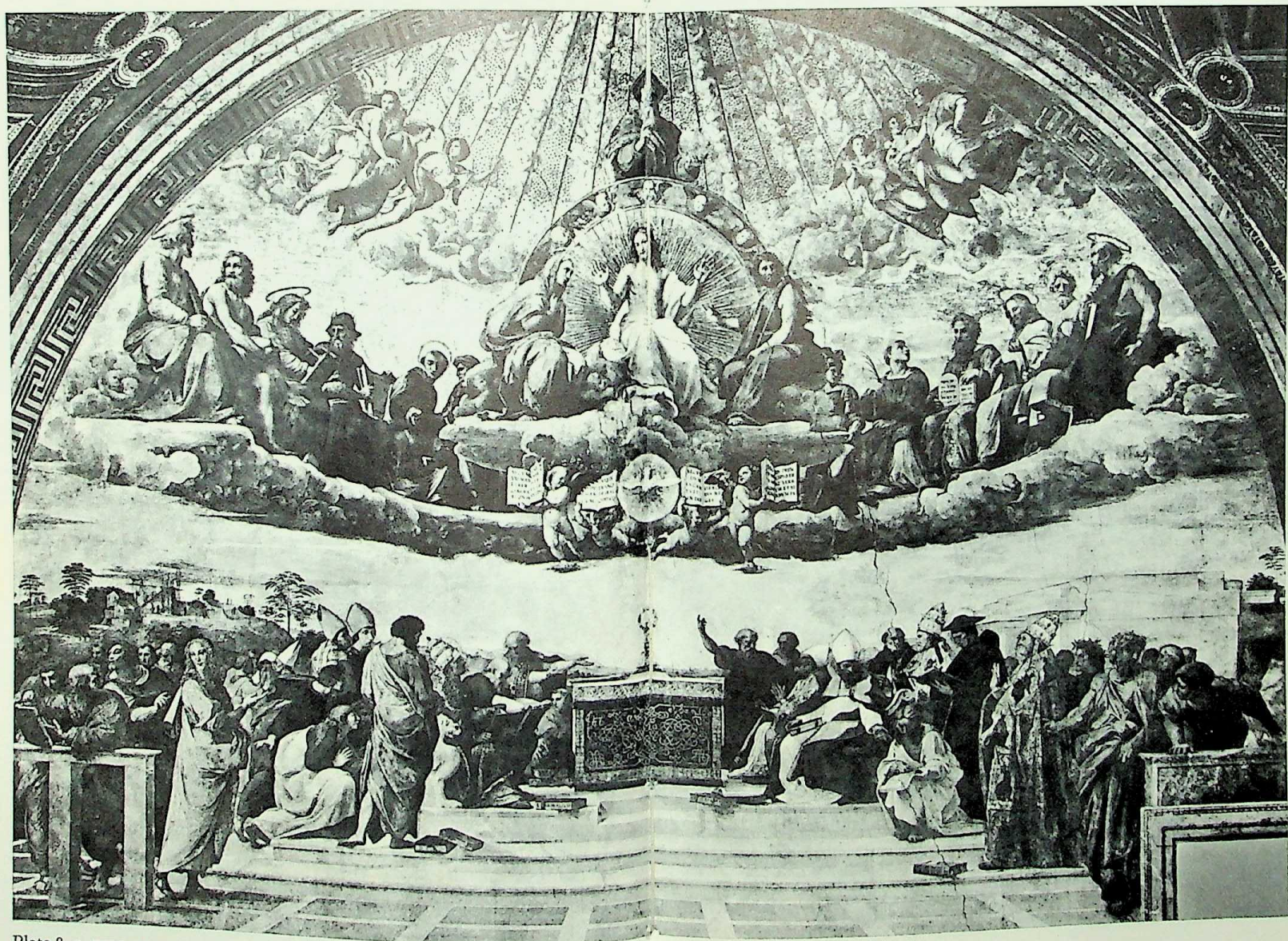


Plate 8-9. THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT, Rome, Vatican



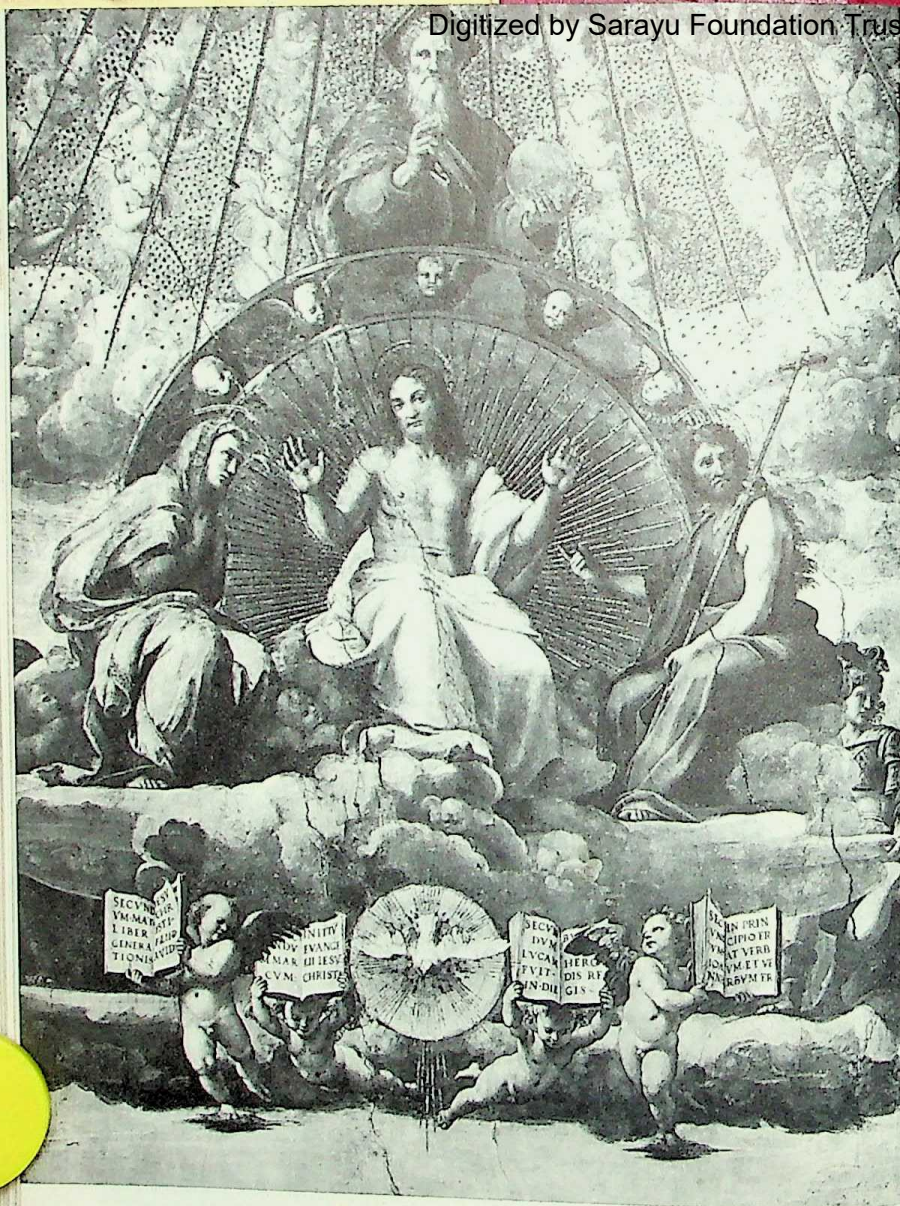


Plate 10. Detail of plate 8-9

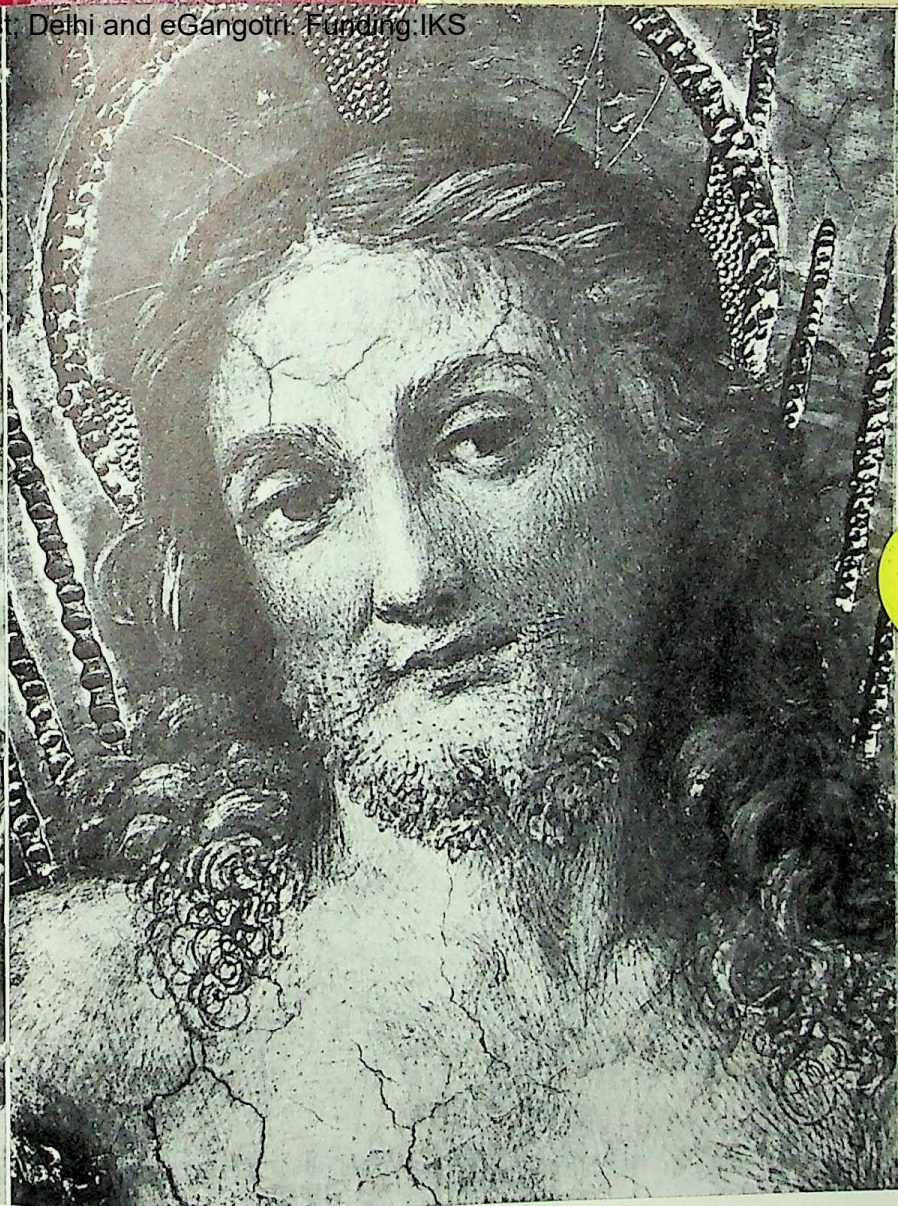


Plate 11. Detail of plate 8-9



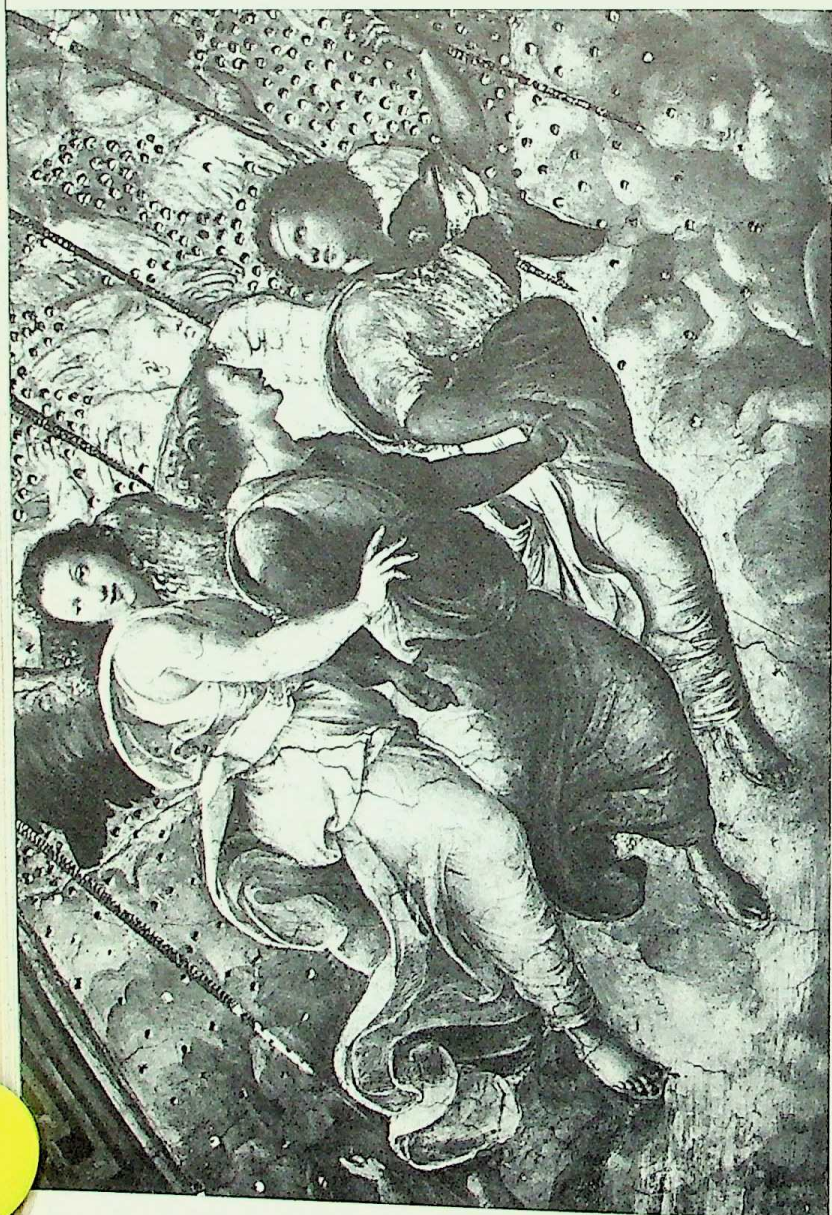


Plate 12. Detail of plate 8-9



Plate 13. Detail of plate 8-9

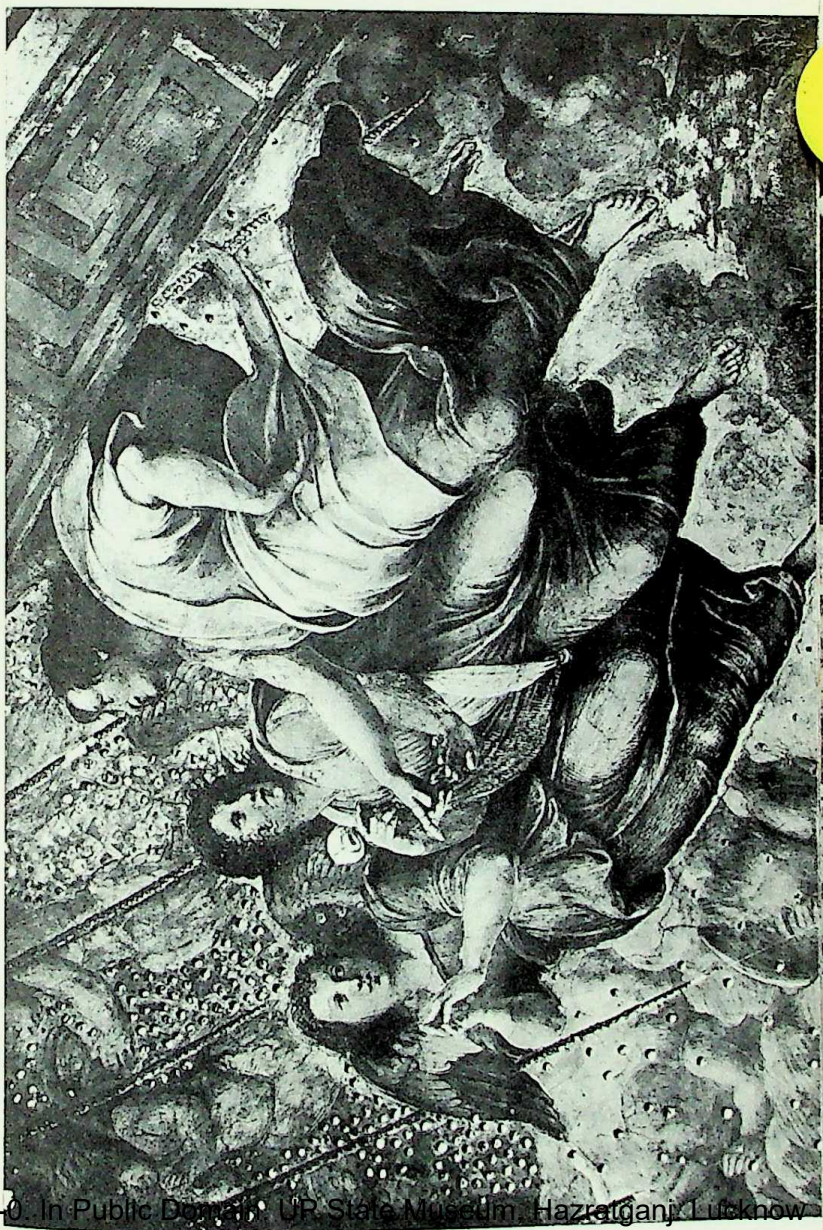






Plate 14. Detail of plate 8-9



Plate 15. Detail of plate 8-9

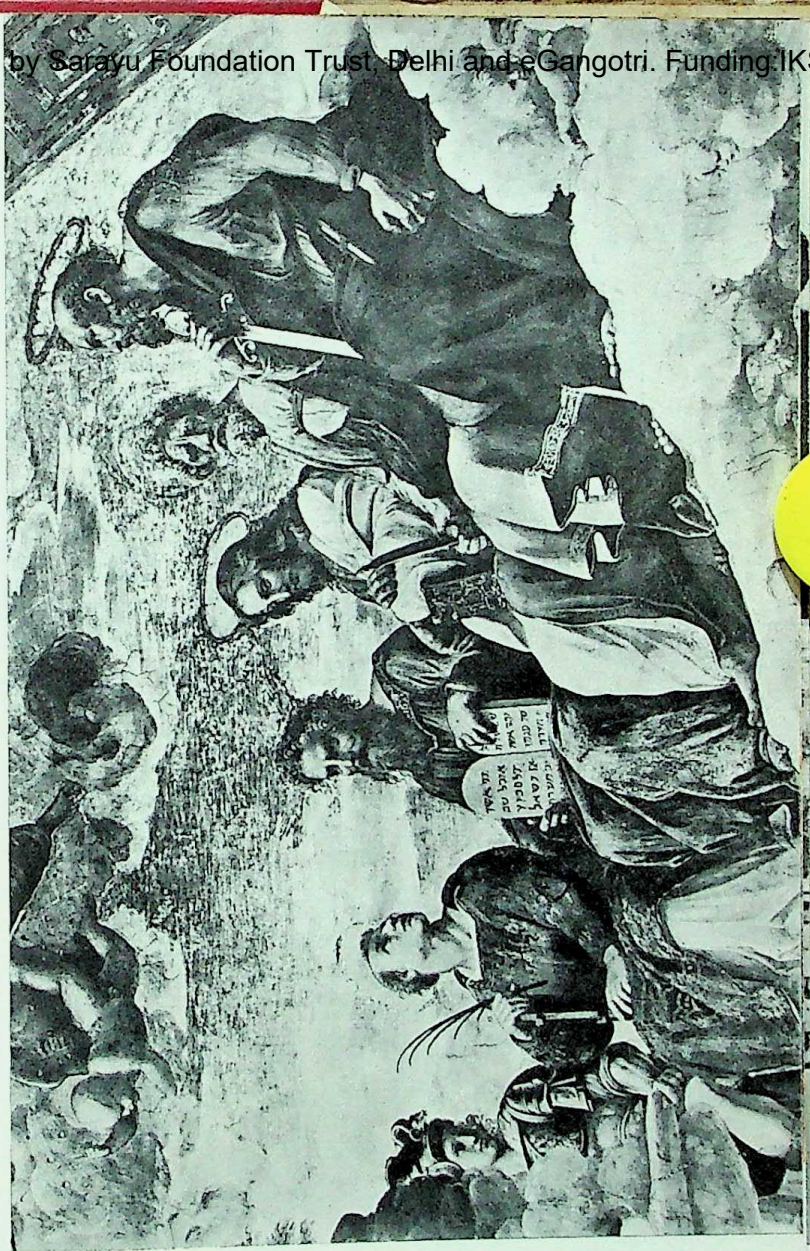






Plate 16. Detail of plate 8-9





THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT,  
Rome, Vatican (*detail of plate 8-9*)





Plate 17. Detail of plate 8-9





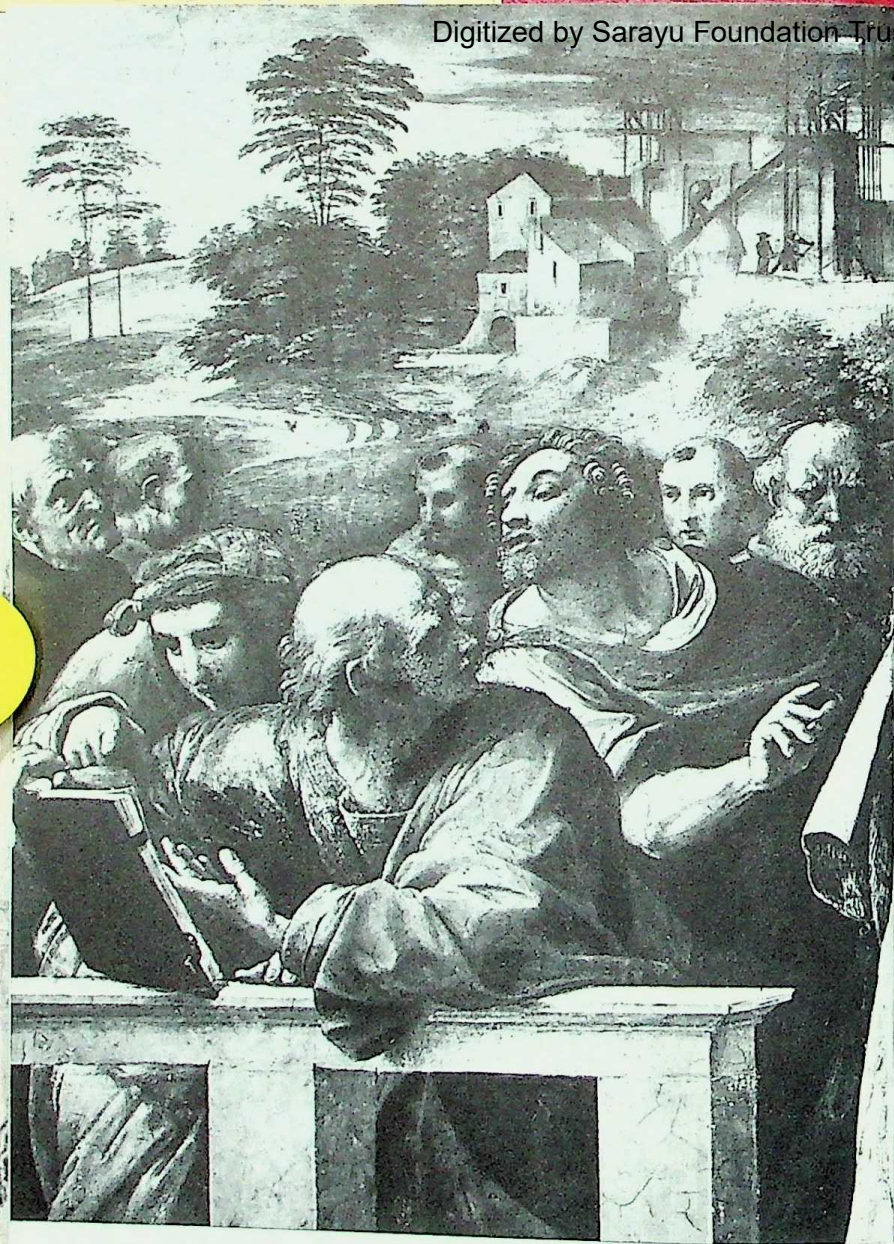


Plate 18. Detail of plate 8-9



Plate 19. Detail of plate 8-9





Plate 20. Detail of plate 8-9

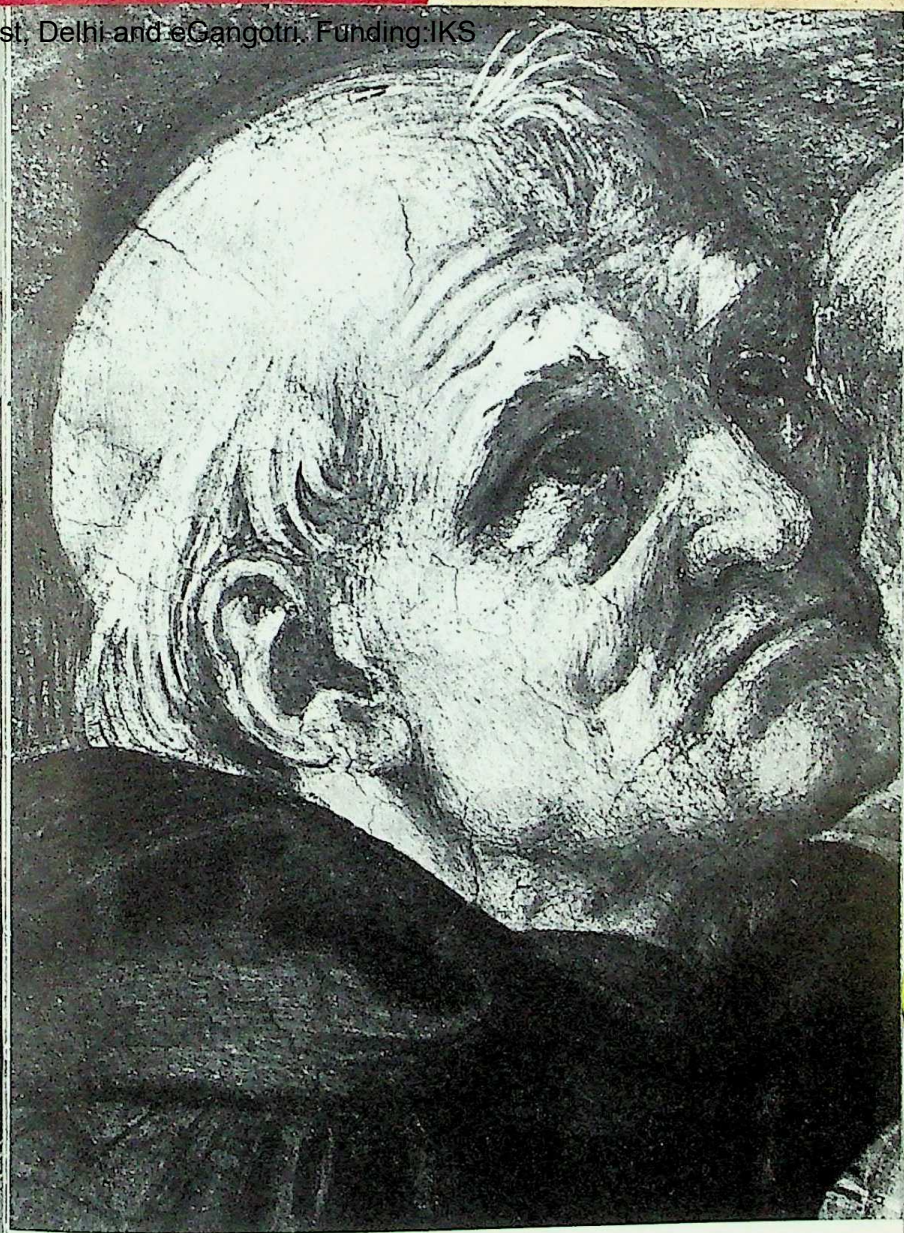


Plate 21. Detail of plate 8-9





Plate 22. Detail of plate 8-9



Plate 23. Detail of plate 8-9





Plate 24-25. THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS, Rome, Vatican



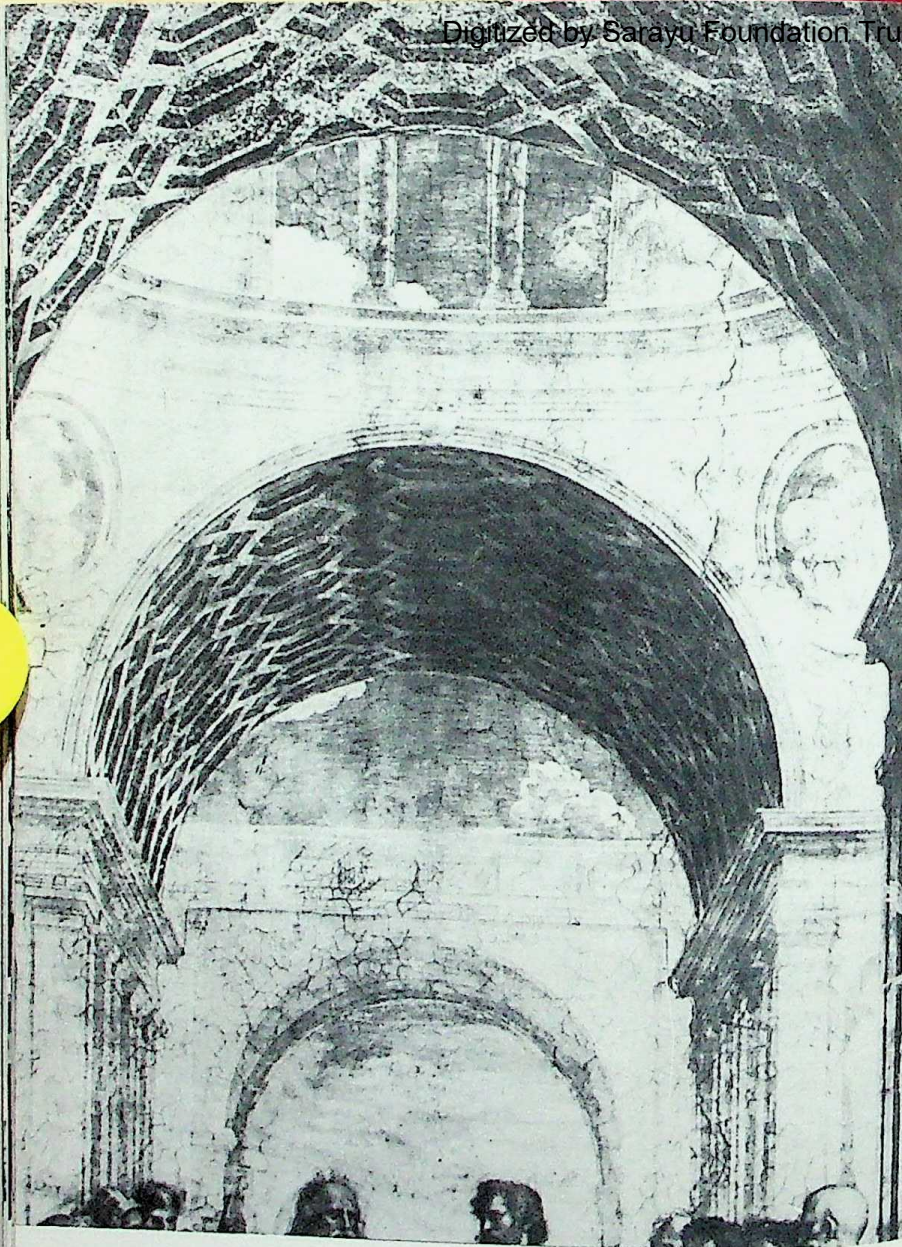


Plate 26. Detail of plate 24-25



Plate 27. Detail of plate 24-25



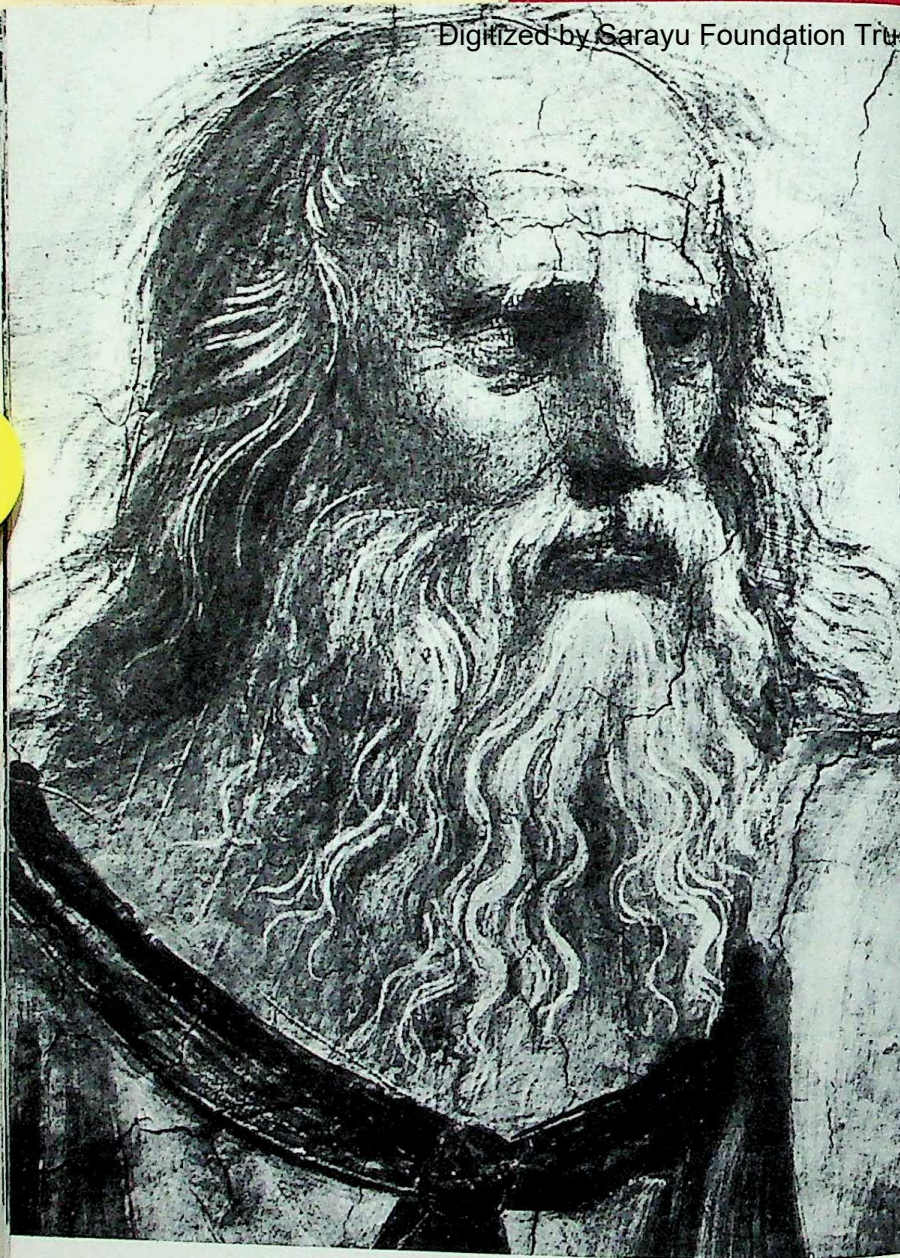


Plate 28. Detail of plate 24-25



Plate 29. Detail of plate 24-25





CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow





Plate 30. Detail of plate 24-25

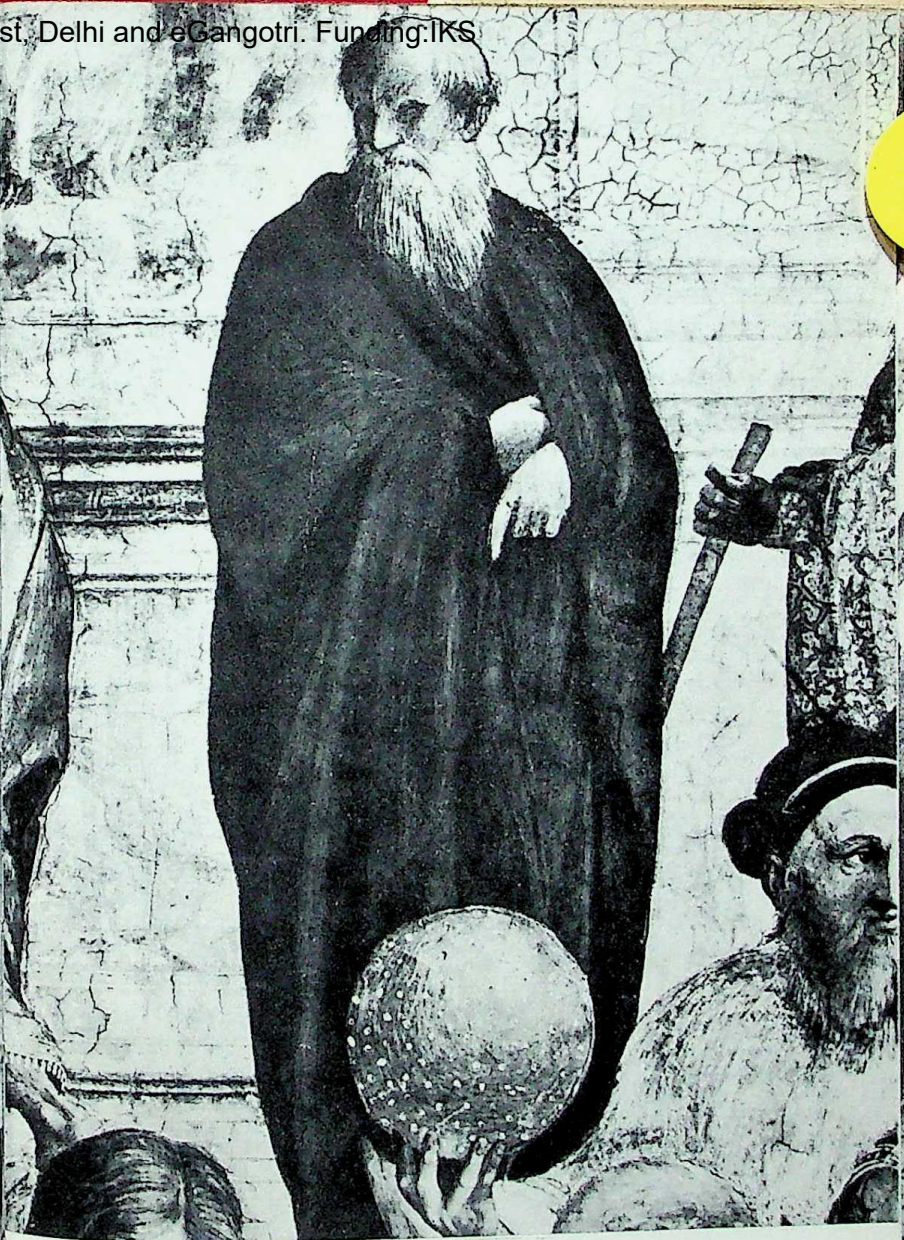


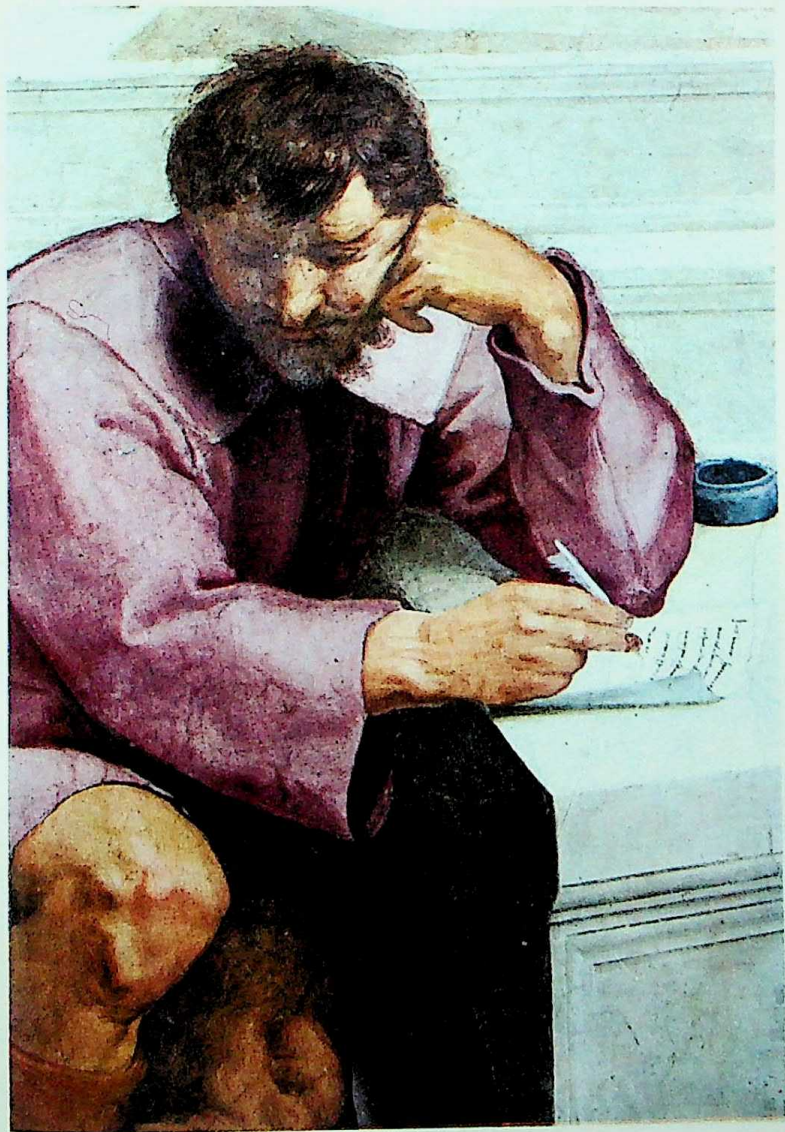
Plate 31. Detail of plate 24-25





Plate 32. Detail of plate 24-25





THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS,  
Rome, Vatican (*detail of plate 24-25*)







Plate 33. Detail of plate 24-25

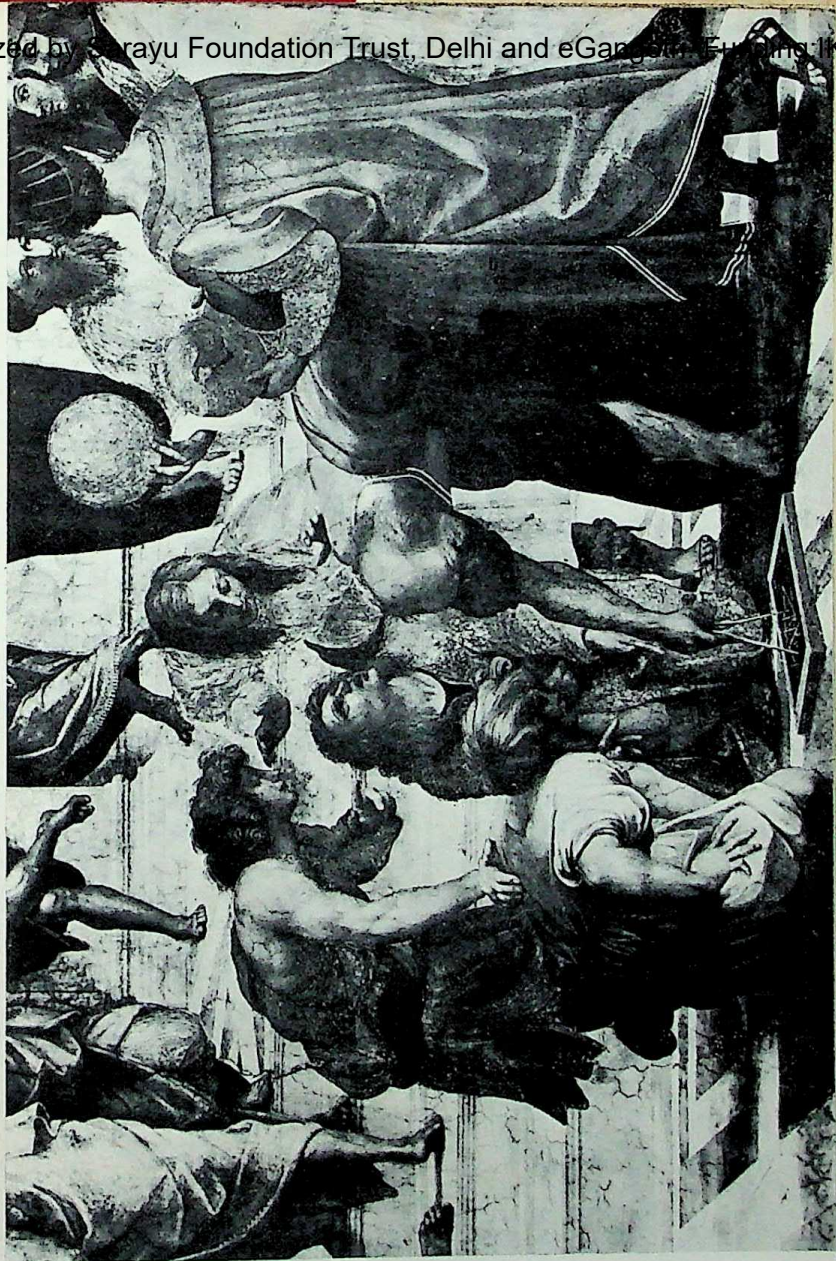






Plate 34. Detail of plate 24-25



Plate 35. Detail of plate 24-25

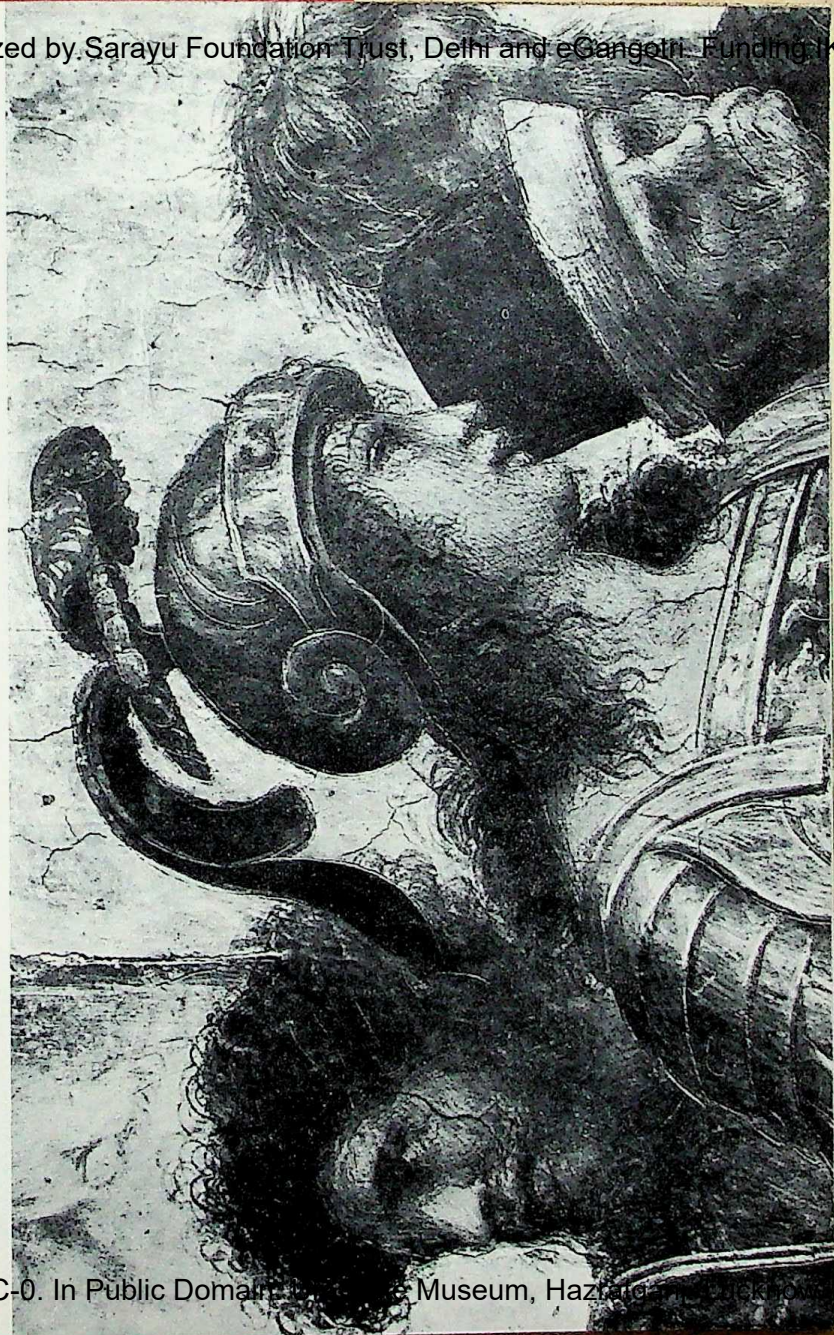






Plate 36. Detail of plate 24-25





Plate 37. *Detail of plate 24-25*

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow





Plate 38. Detail of plate 24-25



Plate 39. Detail of plate 24-25



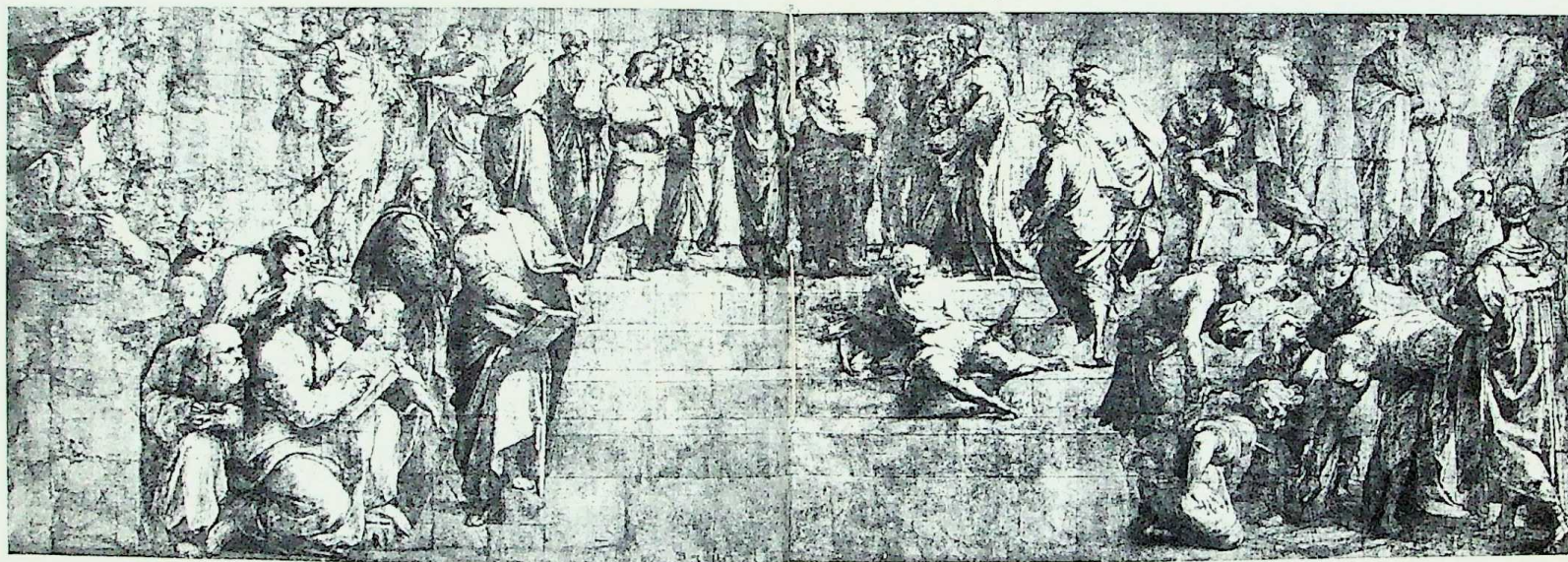


Plate 40-41. THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS,  
Ninth Century B.C. (whole and details)  
CC-0. In Public Domain: UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow



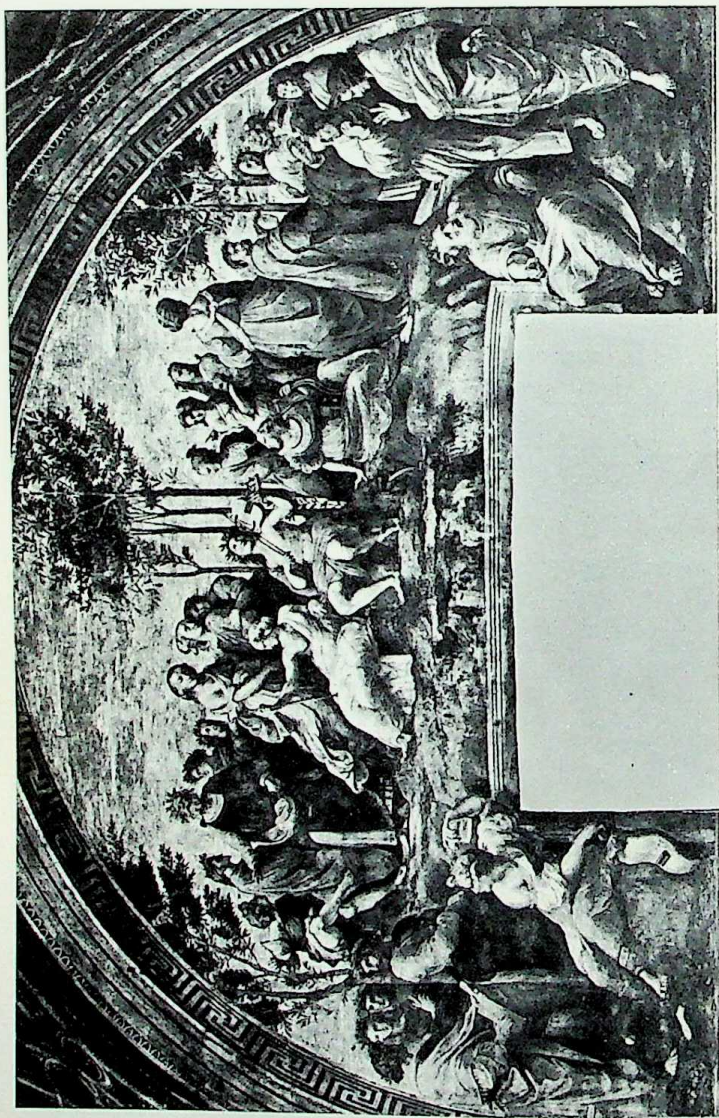


Plate 42. PARNASSUS, Rome, Vatican

Plate 43. Detail of plate 42



Plate 43. Detail of plate 42





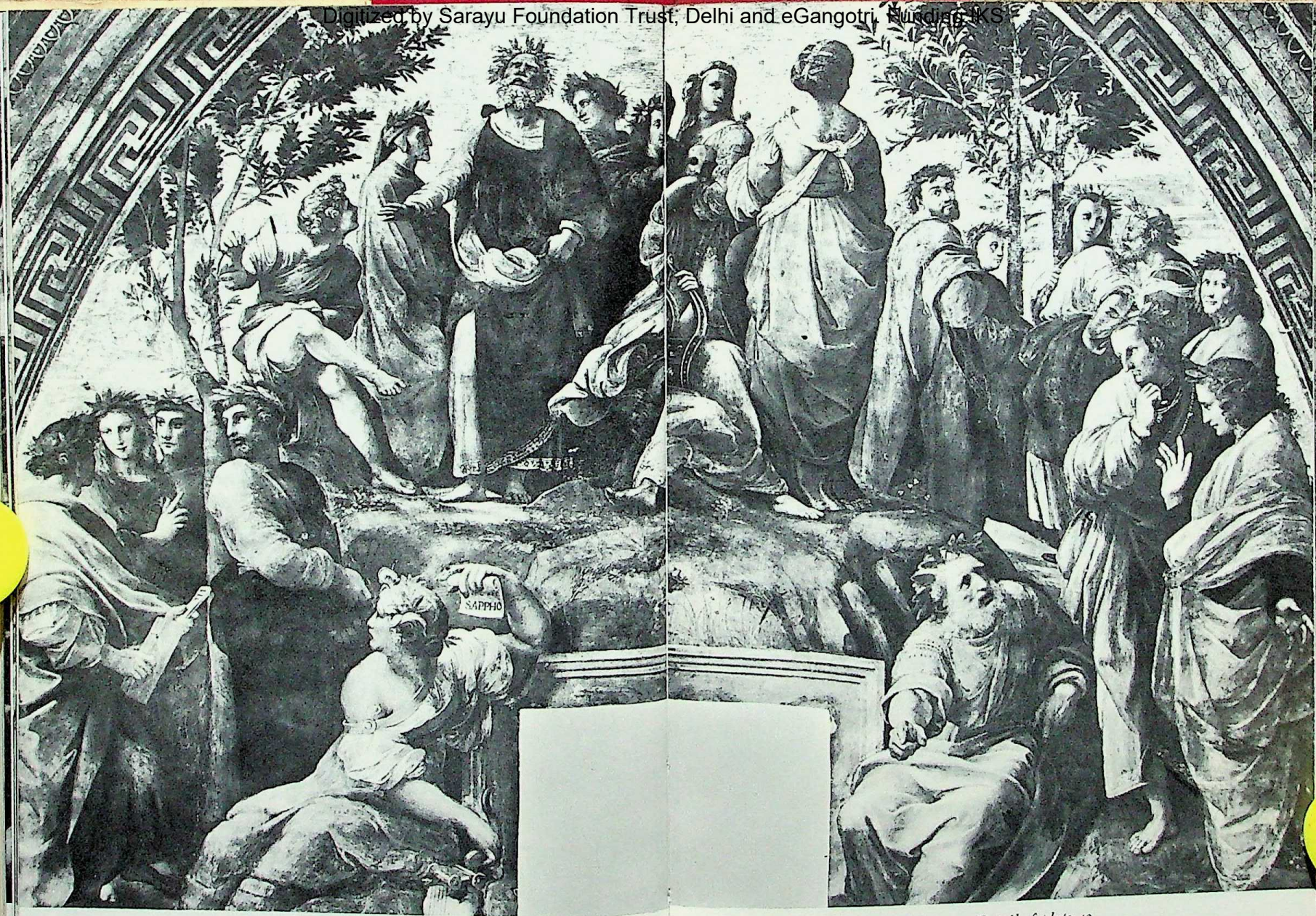


Plate 44. Detail of plate 42

Plate 45. Detail of plate 42





Plate 46. Detail of plate 42

Plate 47. Detail of plate 42





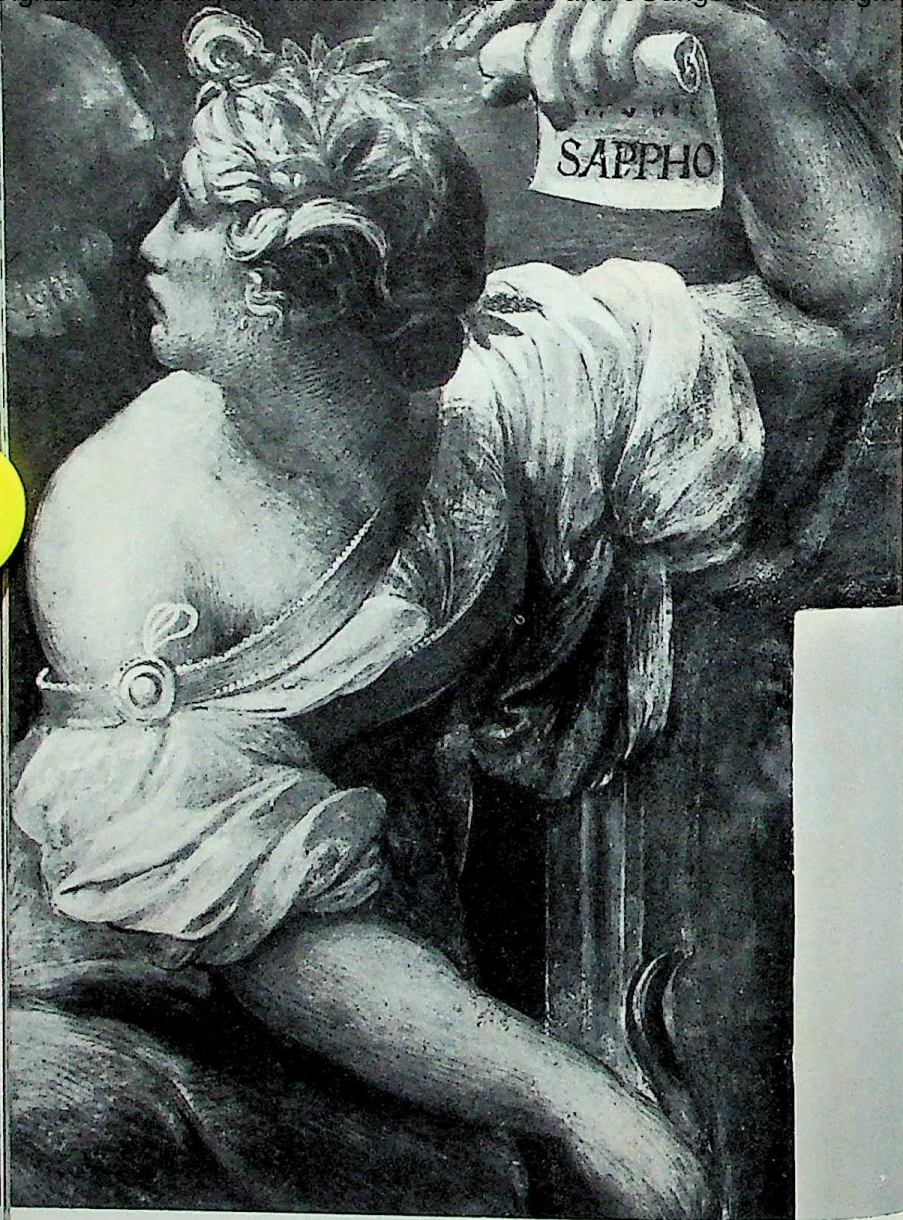
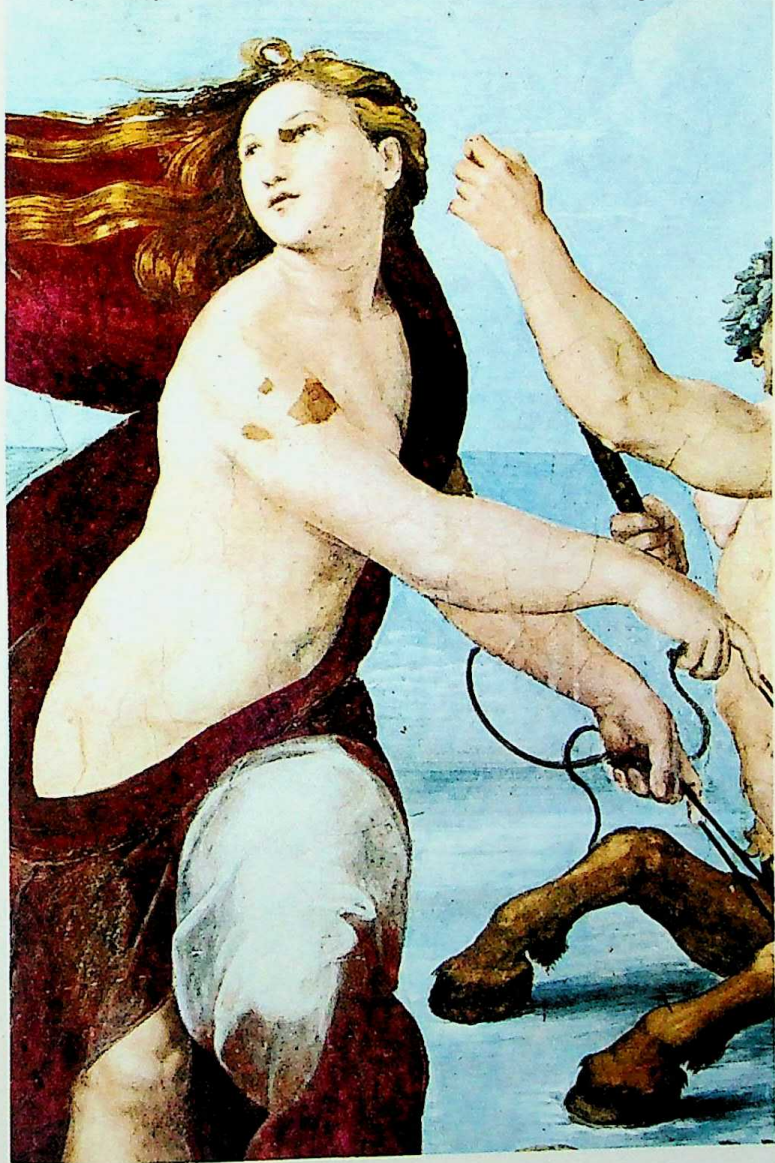


Plate 48. *Detail of plate 42*





THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA,  
Rome, Villa Farnesina







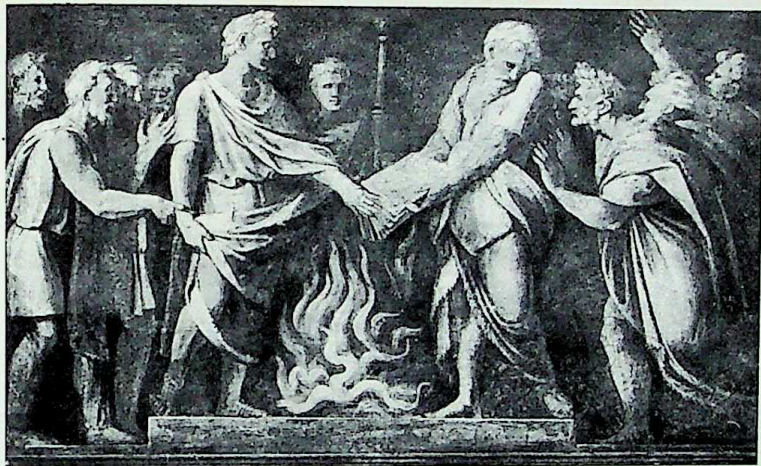


Plate 49. Chiaroscuro beneath PARNASSUS,  
Rome, Vatican





Plate 50. THEOLOGICAL AND CARDINAL VIRTUES,  
Rome, Vatican



Plate 51. Detail of plate 50







Plate 52. Detail of plate 50



Plate 52. Detail of plate 50

Plate 53. Detail of plate 50







Plate 54. Detail of plate 50



Plate 54. Detail of plate 50

Plate 55. Detail of plate 50







Plate 56. Detail of plate 50



Plate 57. Detail of plate 50





Plate 58. TRIBONIAN HANDING THE CODE TO JUSTINIAN,  
Rome, Vatican





Plate 59. GREGORY IX APPROVING THE DECRETALS,  
Rome, Vatican





Plate 60. THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA,  
Rome, Villa Farnesina





Plate 61. *Detail of plate 60*





Plate 62. Detail of plate 60

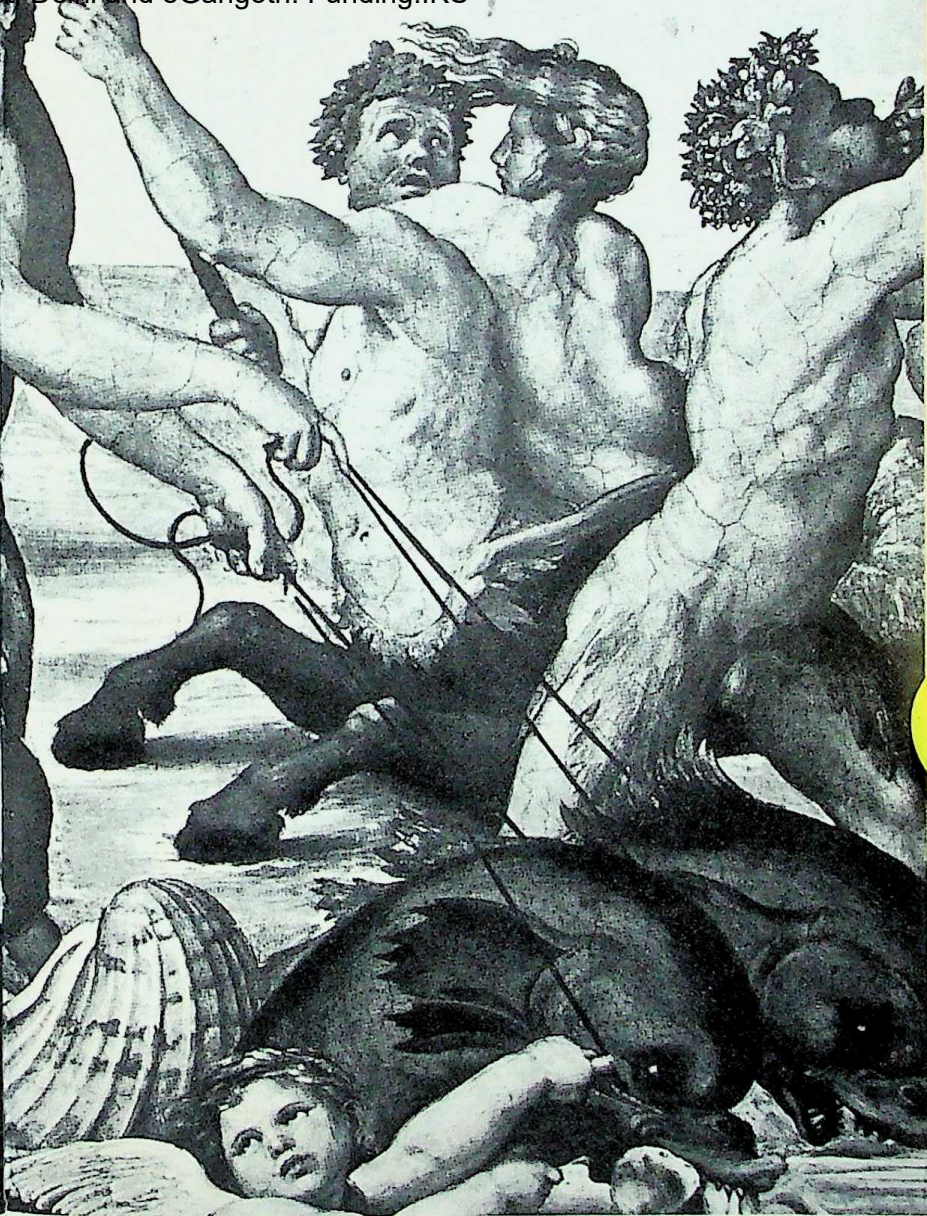


Plate 63. Detail of plate 60





Plate 64. Detail of plate 60



Plate 64. *Detail of plate 60*







*The  
Complete Library  
of World Art*

**PIETER BRUEGEL**

by Valentin Denis

**LEONARDO DA VINCI**

by Costantino Baroni

**GIORGIONE**

by Luigi Coletti

**JAN VAN EYCK**

by Valentin Denis

**PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA**

by Piero Bianconi

**MASACCIO**

by Ugo Procacci

**CARAVAGGIO**

by Costantino Baroni

**RAPHAEL'S PAINTINGS**

(Two Volumes)

by Ettore Camesasca

**RAPHAEL'S FRESCOS**

(Two Volumes)

by Ettore Camesasca

**OLDBOURNE  
LONDON**

*Printed in Great Britain*



## *The Complete Library of World Art*

This unique series, the result of international collaboration by eminent figures in the world of art, has collected and reproduced, volume by volume, all the known and attributed works of all the major artists—painters, sculptors and architects—in the world. Each volume will contain plates both in color and black and white, together with an authoritative account of the life, work and influence of the artist, and extensive notes on every reproduction. Works that are lost and works that have been attributed to the artist, the location of the works, and an up-to-date bibliography are also listed.

The series is thus invaluable for reference and public libraries, for museums, art galleries and for all art-lovers everywhere.

### THE EDITORIAL BOARD

SIR JOHN ROTHENSTEIN

*Director of the Tate Gallery, London*

PROFESSOR JAMES VAN DERPOOL

*Formerly Associate Dean of the School of Architecture, Columbia University,  
New York*

PROFESSOR GIAN ALBERTO DELL'ACQUA

*Director of the Brera Gallery, Milan, and Secretary-General of the Venice Biennale*

DR PAOLO LECALDANO

*Director of the Biblioteca d'Arte Rizzoli, Milan*



*All the Frescos of*  
**RAPHAEL**  
*Part I*

CAMBRIDGE

1611

OLDBOURNE